JOURNAL

OF THE

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Edited by

B. J. Sandesara

DIRECTOR, ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Oriental Institute

BARODA

Vol. XII] March 1963 [No.3

CONTENTS

JOURNAL
OF THE
RIENTAL INSTITUTE
M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Vol. XII March 1963 No. 3

THE TWELVE DEVĀSURASAṄGRĀMAS[1]

By

D. R. MANKAD, Aliabada (Saurashtra)

I

The Story

In the Purāṇas, there is a topic of feuds between the Devas and the Asuras, which has not been properly understood, as yet. It is a topic, which is known to the Brāhmaṇas and later Vedic literature also. Apart from incidental allusions to these feuds, there is a special section in some of the Purāṇas, which gives details of these feuds. I feel that these feuds had played quite a significant part in the early Puranic days and is, therefore, worth-while a study.

These feuds are described in some details in Vy, Bd, Mt and Ag. I shall first give a collated version of these feuds, as it emerges from a comparative study of Vy, Bd and Mt Purāṇas[2], then will give details about these feuds found at other places; and then, in the next lecture, I shall examine certain significant questions, which arise from such a study.

It is said that Hiraṇyakaśipu ruled formerly over the three worlds, and then Bali came to rule over them. At this stage, there is a very significant statement which is seen in Vy, Mt and Bd.

[1] Two lectures delivered as a Visiting Professor at the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda, on 6-7 Dec. 1962.

[2] Following abbreviations are used: H = Hiraṇyakaśipu ; Mt = Matsya Purāṇa ; Vy = Vāyu Purāṇa ; Bd = Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa ; NP = Narasiṁha Purāṇa ; Ag = Agni Purāṇa ; VP = Vāmana Purāṇa ; SB.E = Sacred Books of the East Series.

सख्यमासीत्परं तेषां देवानामसुरैः सह
युगाख्या दश संपूर्णा ह्यासीदव्याहतं जगत् ॥ Bd III, 72, 79
निदेशस्थायिनश्चैव तयोर्देवासुराभवन्
बद्धे बलौ विवादोऽथ संप्रवृत्तः सुदारुणः ॥ 70

This means that Asuras and Devas were friendly for ten yugākhyās and at that time both the Devas and the Asuras were ruled over by these two *i.e.* Hiraṇyakaśipu and Bali; and it was only when Bali was bound up that the great feud started. In verse 71, it is said that many feuds had taken place between them for the sake of dvīpa or dāya (v.l. seen in Mt, Vy, Ag) and that these ended with Ṣaṇḍa and Marka. These feuds were twelve in number and they happened during 'this Varāha Kalpa'.

Then these twelve feuds are named as under:—

(1) Nārasiṁha, (2) Vāmana, (3) Vārāh, (4) Amṛtamanthana, (5) Tārakāmaya, (6) Āḍibaka, (7) Traipura, (8) Andhakāra, (9) Dhvaja, (10) Vārtra, (11) Hālāhala and (12) Kolāhala.

Sixth is called Ājīvaka in Ag, but that is not correct. Eighth is called Andhakavadha in Ag. which seems to be correct. Ninth is called Vṛtraghātaka in Ag, and the Tenth is called Ghātra in Ag.

In the first feud called Nārasiṁha, Hiraṇyakaśipu was killed by Narasiṁha. The second is called Vāmana, in which Bali was bound when the latter attacked all the three worlds. The third is Vārāha, in which Hiraṇyākṣa was cut into two by Varāha. In the fourth called Amṛtamanthana, Prahlāda was defeated by Indra. In the Tārakāmaya, the fifth Devāsura, Virocana, the son of Prahlāda who was always trying to kill Indra, was killed. In the sixth Devāsura, Jambha, who had obtained boons and weapons from Śiva, was killed by Viṣṇu, who had entered the body of Indra. Then in Traipura, when the Devas were no longer able to bear the onslaughts, Tryambaka killed all the Dānavas. Then in Andhakāraka, Devas, Manuṣyas and Pitṛs together won the Daityas, Asuras and Rakṣas. In Dhvaja, Mahendra (dhvajalakṣaṇamāviṣya) killed Vipracitti with his brother. Vipracitti is described as māyāchatra and yogavit. In Vrātra, Mahendra, with the help of Viṣṇu, killed Vṛtras and Dānavas. In Hālāhala Vṛṣa won all the Dānavas and Daityas. In Kolāhala, Raji defeated all the Daityas after winning over Ṣaṇḍa and Marka in the sacrificial session.

This account which I have given above is according to Mt, Bd and Vy. Ag differs from these in the following details.

There is no difference upto the third feud. But about Amṛtamanthana Ag says that Viṣṇu obtained Amṛta; there is nothing about winning over Prahlāda

by Indra. In the fifth,[1] according to Ag, Devas were protected. Again there is no mention of Virocana being killed by Indra. In the sixth, which is called Ājīvaka by Ag, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and others destroyed Rāgadveṣādidānavas. In the seventh, according to Ag, Hara burnt Tripura. In the eighth called Andhakavadha by Ag, Balarāma[2] killed Andhaka. The ninth is called Vṛtraghātaka by Ag and in it, according to that Purāṇa, Viṣṇu (apāṁ phenamayo bhūtvā) killed Vṛtra. In the tenth called Ghātra by Ag, Paraśurāma[3] killed Śālva and others. In the eleventh, according to Ag, Viṣṇu killed Hālāhala Daitya. And lastly, in the twelfth, according to Ag, Viṣṇu won over Kolāhala Daitya.

These differences will be discussed later on at the proper place.

These are the twelve Devāsuras, which are characterized as surāsurakṣayakarāḥ (annihilators of the Devas and Asuras) and prajānāmaśivāḥ (harmful to the people).

Then occur the following verses:—*

वभौ ॥ Bd, III, 72, 88

॥ 89

: ।

नियुतानि च ॥ 90

।

91

[1] Ag-text is not clear about the fifth and the sixth. It reads:—(Adhyāya 276, 17-18)

[2] The text is this:—

(Ag 276, 20)

See:-

(Ag 276, 22)

The portion that follows now is not seen in Ag, but is seen in Mt, Bd and Vy.

v.l.

Mt.

इन्द्रास्त्रयस्ते विख्याता ह्यसुराणां महौजसः ।
दैत्यसंस्थमिदं सर्वमासीद्दशयुगं किल:[1] ॥ 92
असपत्नं ततः शक्रो राष्ट्रं दशयुगं पुनः ।
त्रैलोक्यमिदमव्यग्रं महेन्द्रो ह्यन्वयाद्बले:[2] ॥ 93
प्रह्लादस्य हृते[3] तस्मिंस्त्रैलोक्ये कालपर्ययात् ।
पर्यायेणैव संप्राप्ते त्रैलोक्यं पाकशासन:[4] ॥ 94

This means that Hiraṇyakaśipu ruled for, say, 180075 years and Bali for, say, 90000. Verse 91 says that Prahlāda was defeated during the time that Bali ruled. Vy reading seems to say that some one was caught by Prahlāda during this time, while Mt reading, which seems to be better, seems to say that Prahlāda had retired along with the Asuras during this time. At any rate, these three (Hiraṇyakaśipu, Prahlāda and Bali) are called to have been well-famed Indras i.e. kings of the Asuras. Then, it is said that the three worlds were ruled over by the Daityas for ten yugas (daśayugam). Then for another ten yugas, Inpra ruled without a rival. Verse 94 seems to say that Indra obtained the kingdom after Prahlāda was removed from this world. And then it is said that yajña left the Asuras and went over to Devas.

Then the Daityas approached Kāvya and said that as the yajña had gone over to Devas, they could not stay there and would, therefore, retire to Rasātala. Then Kāvya told them not to be afraid and said that he would uphold them by his prowess. He said " Whatever mantras, herbs, rasas, and vasu (wealth) are there—all that is possessed by me, Devas possess only a quarter of it. I shall give you all that." Thus when Daityas were assured by Kāvya, Devas started attacking them, and when Kāvya found that Devas were winning, he said,

[तानुवाच ततः काव्यः पूर्ववृत्तमनुस्मरन् ॥ Bd. III. 72, 103]
त्रैलोक्यं वो हृतं सर्वं वामनेन त्रिभिः क्रमैः ।
बलिर्बद्धो हतो जम्भो निहतश्च विरोचनः ॥ 105
महासुरा द्वादशसु संग्रामेषु सुरैर्हताः (हृताः) ।
तैस्तैरुपायैर्भूयिष्ठं निहता वः प्रधानतः ॥ 106
किंचिच्छिष्टास्तु यूयं वै युद्धं माऽस्त्विति मे मतम् ।

Then he advised them to bide their time and the Asuras went to Devas and told them that they would renounce weapons and retire to forest and practise penance and when Devas heard Prahlāda saying this, they took it to be true

[1] v.l. Mt.
[2] v.l. Mt.

[3] v.l. Mt.
[4] v.l. Mt.

ाचः श्रुत्वा सत्याभिव्याहृतं तु तत्). Kāvya, then, approached Mahādeva and asked him such mantras which were not known by Bṛhaspati. Mahādeva told him to perform long penance.

Then the Devas, once again, started harassing Asuras, who then when to the mother[1] of Kāvya. When the Devas attacked them, the mother of Kāvya paralysed (तस्तम्भ) Indra. Then Viṣṇu and Indra together went to her; but she said she would burn them. So Viṣṇu, on the advice of Indra, killed her.

Then Bhṛgu was enraged at the death of his wife and cursed Viṣṇu thus:—

Thus, Viṣṇu was born as a human being seven times due to this curse.

And Bhṛgu, then, revived his wife.

And when Indra saw this he was afraid of Kāvya. He, then, told his own daughter Jayantī that she was now given to Kāvya and therefore she should go to him and keep him attracted by all means.

Meanwhile, Kāvya completed his penance and Mahādeva favoured him by a boon that he alone will be able to defeat the Devas, by his prowess. Then Kāvya saw Jayantī and being attracted by her, agreed to stay with her for ten years (दश वर्षाणि) unseen by any one else. So, when the Asuras went to see Kāvya, they could not find him. Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the Devas, seeing this situation, took the form of Kāvya, went to the Asuras and told them that he had returned from Mahādeva and he would teach them all that he had learnt. Thus the Asuras lived with Bṛhaspati under the delusion that he was Kāvya.

Meanwhile, ten years elapsed and Jayantī gave birth to Devayānī and then Kāvya said that he would go back to the Asuras. When Kāvya went there, he saw Bṛhaspati there in his form and told that he himself was Kāvya and the other one was an impersonator. So did Bṛhaspati tell them that he was Kāvya. Asuras were puzzled but said that this person (Bṛhaspati) had taught them for ten years and therefore he was the real Kāvya and that they had nothing to do with him (real Kāvya). So Kāvya became angry and cursed the Asuras thus:

गता ; Bd III, 73, 36

When Kāvya said like this, Prahlāda requested him not to abandon them. He pleaded that as they could not see him, they were deluded by Bṛhaspati. Thus requested, Kāvya said :

प्राप्स्यथ ; ॥ Bd III, 73, 48

[1] The Mother of Kāvya was Divyā, the daughter of Hiraṇyakaśipu. She was married to Bhṛgu. Vy 65, 72 ff.

न शक्यमन्यथा कर्तुं दिष्टं हि बलवत्तरम् ।
संज्ञा प्रनष्टा या वोऽद्य तामेतां प्रतिपत्स्यथ ॥
देवाञ्जित्वा सकृच्चापि पातालं प्रतिपत्स्यथ ।
प्राप्ते पर्यायकाले च हीति ब्रह्माऽभ्यभाषत ॥
मत्प्रसादाच्च त्रैलोक्यं भुक्तं युष्माभिरूर्जितम् ।
युगाख्या दश संपूर्णा देवानाक्रम्य मूर्धनि ॥
एतावन्तं च कालं वै ब्रह्मा राज्यमभाषत ।
राज्यं सावर्णिके तुभ्यं पुनः किल भविष्यति ॥
लोकानामीश्वरो भाव्यस्तव पौत्रो पुनर्बलिः ।
एवं कालमयं प्रोक्तः पौत्रस्ते विष्णुना स्वयम् ॥
वाचा हृतेषु लोकेषु तास्तस्याभवन्किल ।
यस्मात्प्रवृत्तयश्चास्य संकाशादभिसंधितः ॥
तस्माद्वृत्तेन प्रीतेन तुभ्यं दत्तं स्वयंभुवा ।
देवराज्ये बलिर्भाव्य इति मामीश्वरोऽब्रवीत् ॥
तस्माददृश्यो भूतानां कालापेक्षो[1] स तिष्ठति ।
प्रीतेन चापरो दत्तो वरस्तुभ्यं स्वयंभुवा ॥
तस्मान्निरुत्सुकस्त्वं वै पर्यायसहितोऽसुरैः ।
न हि शक्यं मया तुभ्यं पुरस्ताद्विप्रभाषितुम् ॥
ब्रह्मणा प्रतिषिद्धोऽहं भविष्यं जानता विभो ।
इमौ च शिष्यौ द्वौ मह्यं समावेतौ बृहस्पतेः ॥
देवतैः सह संस्पृष्टान्सर्वान्वो धारयिष्यतः ।

Kāvya thus consoled Prahlāda and the Asuras and said that they will win at least once (सकृच्चापि) and then go to Pātāla. He said that, according to Brahmā's forecast they would enjoy the kingdom by turns (पर्यायेण) and now that the Asuras had ruled for ten yugākhyās their time was over. Brahmā had predicted so much time for their rule (एतावन्तं कालं वै ब्रह्मा राज्यमभाषत). It is also said that Bali will become king once again (पुनः) in Sāvarṇika manvantara. It seems that Brahmā had thus prophesied and therefore Bali was living incognito (अदृश्य) biding his time (कालापेक्षी). Thus giving them an idea of future events, Kāvya told them that Ṣaṇḍa and Marka, who were his pupils, will support them henceforth.

Then the Asuras thus encouraged by Kāvya and thinking that they will win at least once (सकृदाशंसमानास्तु जयं शुक्रेण भाषितम्) attacked the Devas. In this battle, which lasted long, Asuras won. Then the Devas thought

यज्ञेनोपाह्वयामस्तौ ततो जेष्यामहेऽसुरान् ।
तदोपामन्त्रयान्देवाः शंडामर्कौ तु तावुभौ ॥ Bd, III, 72, 64
यज्ञे चाहूय तौ प्रोक्तौ त्यजेतामसुरान्द्विजौ ।
वयं युवां भजिष्यामः सह जित्वा तु दानवान् ॥

[1] v.l. Bd. कालाकांक्षी

एवं कृत्वाभिसंधी तौ शंडामकौं सुरास्तथा ।
ततो देवा जयं प्रापुर्दानवाश्च पराजिताः ॥
शंडामर्कं परित्यक्त्वा दानवा ह्यबलास्तथा ।
एवं दैत्याः पुरा काव्यशापेनाभिहतास्तदा ॥
काव्यशापाभिभूतास्ते निराधाराश्च सर्वशः ।
निरस्यमाना देवैश्च विविशुस्ते रसातलम् ॥

When the Devas were thus defeated, they tried to win over Ṣaṇḍa and Marka and it is said that they offered yajña to them and thus they won over these two on their side. When in this manner, Ṣaṇḍa and Marka abandoned the Dānavas, the latter were defeated. And then these Daityas, being overthrown everywhere, ultimately retired to Rasātala.

This narrative, which is found in Mt, Vy and Bd, gives us a connected history of the varying fortunes of the Daitya family of Hiraṇyakaśipu and incidentally gives us some idea about the Devāsurasaṅgrāma in general.

We shall, now, gather information about these Devāsuras, one by one, from other sources.

1. *The First Devāsura-Nārasiṁha*

The first Devāsura is called Nārasiṁha. Story of this Saṅgrāma is given in Mt 166 ff.

In Mt (161, 2) Hiraṇyakaśipu is styled as the first king of the Daityas (daityānāmadipuruṣah). He wanted to gain mastery over all the worlds and therefore practised penance. When Brahmā was pleased, he requested (16, 11 ff) that he should not be killed by Devas, Asuras, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Uragas, Rakṣas nor by Manuṣas, Piśācas. He further desired that Ṛṣis should not be able to curse him. Further, he should not be killed by astra, śastra, mountain, tree nor by anything wet or dry nor by day or night. He further wanted to be Yama, Arka, Soma, Vāyu, Hutāśana, Salila, Antarikṣa, Nakṣatra, all the ten directions, Krodha, Kāma, Varuṇa, Vāsava, Dhanada and lord of Kimpuruṣas.

· Brahmā gave him the boon. Then Hiraṇyakaśipu ruled over the Asuras and Devas and conquered them all.

त्र्यैलोक्यं वशमानीय स्वर्गे वसति दानवः
यदा वरमदोत्सिक्तश्चोदितः कालधर्मतः
यज्ञियानकरोद्दैत्यानयज्ञियाश्च देवताः ॥ 161, 27

Then the Devas went to Brahmā who told them to go to Viṣṇu. They went to Viṣṇu and requested him to kill the Daitya. Viṣṇu, then taking Aum (ॐ) as his helper and taking himself the form of Narasiṁha, went to Hiraṇyakaśipu's court (sabhā). This sabhā is described in great details and it is said that in that sabhā, apsaras like Viśvācī, Sahajanyā, Pramlocā and others waited upon him. The following too attended upon him :—Bali, Virocana, Naraka

the son of Pṛthivī, Prahlāda, Vipracitti, Saviṣṭha, Pramati, Sumati, Mahāpārśva, Krathama, Piṭhara, Viśvarūpa, Surūpa, Daśagrīva, Vāli, Meghavāsa, Ghaṭāsya, Akampana, Prajana, Surama, Ghaṭidara.

एते चान्ये च बहवो हिरण्यकशिपुं प्रभुम् ।
उपासन्ति ॥ 161, 83

Then there occurred a terrible fight between Hiraṇyakaśipu and Narasiṁha. The fight is described in great details, at the end of which Narasiṁha killed Hiraṇyakaśipu. (163, 94)

तदोंकारसहायेन विदार्य निहतो युधि ।

Matsyapurāṇa gives the story of Hiraṇyakaśipu in this manner.

Out of other Purāṇas, Bg, Vs and Nr give the story of Prahlāda in which emphasis is on the devotion of Prahlāda to Viṣṇu. Otherwise the story has the same thing about Hiraṇyakaśipu. Following statement in Bg (VII 7, 6-10) is noteworthy :

Prahlāda said, " When my father had gone for penance, Indra abducted my mother who was pregnant. "[1]

Nr also has the same story as is found in Bg. We would expect some more details about the first Devāsura in Narasiṁa Purāṇa, but out of 68 Adhyāyas that the Purāṇa has, only four (41, 42, 43, 44) are devoted to this story.

2. *Vāmana*

The second Devāsura is called Vāmana. The story of Vāmana and Bali is too well-known to be retold here. In Mt 244, it is said that Aditi went to Viṣṇu and requested him to protect her sons. So Viṣṇu was born of her as Vāmana (244, 49-52). This would mean that Vāmana was an Āditya.

Mt 245 describes, at first, a conversation between Bali and Prahlāda. Prahlāda informed Bali that Vāmana would be born to help the Devas. Bali, at once, reacted saying he would fight against Vāmana and defeat him. Prahlāda then advised him not to do so and be a devotee of Vāmana. Bali agreed.

Mt 246 describes Vāmana's visit in the form of a Brāhmaṇa at Bali's sacrifice. Vāmana asked for three footsteps of earth and Bali agreed.

Prahlāda is described as having seen Virocana, Bali, Jambha, Kujambha, Naraka and Bāṇa all included in the body of Vāmana. (245, 12)

I shall, here, note some significant verses.

In 246, 14 Śukra told Bali

यज्ञयागभुजो देवा वेदप्रामाण्यतोऽसुर ।
त्वया तु दानवा दैत्या मखभागभुजः कृताः ॥

---

[1] इन्द्रस्तु राजमहिषीं मातरं मम चाग्रहीत् ॥ VI, 7, 6ff.

In 246 Vāmana, being pleased with Bali, told him:

यत्त्वया सलिलं दत्तं गृहीतं पाणिना मया ।
कल्पप्रमाणं तस्मात्ते भविष्यत्यायुरुत्तमम् ॥ 71
वैवस्वते तथातीते बले मन्वन्तरे ह्यथ ।
सावर्णिके तु संप्राप्ते भवानिन्द्रो भविष्यति ॥ 72
सांप्रतं तु देवराजाय त्रैलोक्यं सकलं मया ।
दत्तं चतुर्युगाणां च साधिका ह्येकसप्ततिः ॥ 73
नियन्तव्या मया सर्वे ये तस्य परिपन्थिनः ।
तेनाहं परया भक्त्या पूर्वमाराधितो बले ॥ 74
सुतलं नाम पातालं त्वमासाद्य मनोरमम् ।
वसासुर ममादेशं यथावत्परिपालयन् ॥ 75[1]

This means that when Vāmana took away the earth from Bali, the latter resorted to Sutala and was once again able to rule over the earth in Sāvarṇika Manvantara.

In Narasiṁha Purāṇa, it is said

तत्र गत्वा महाभाग भुंक्ष्व त्वं मत्प्रसादतः । 42
वैवस्वतेऽन्तरेऽतीते पुनरिन्द्रो भविष्यसि ॥

This confirms Matsya.

VP talks of Vāmana and Bali in Adhyāyas 23-31; 74-77; 89-93.

3. *Vārāha*

The Third Devāsura is called Vārāha. The story of Vārāha is told in Varāha Purāṇa, Mt, Nr, Bg.

Varāha Purāṇa is a dialogue between Varāha and Dharaṇī. It has, in all 218 adhyāyas, out of which only two *viz.* 113-114 deal with Varāha story. There are two more adhyāyas, where matters connected with Varāha are given. These are-41 called Varāhadvādaśīvratam and 140 called Kokāmukhamāhātmya.

In Varāha Purāṇa there is no mention about Hiraṇyākṣa. It mentions only the sinking Earth and its being brought out by Varāha. This version is best given in Mt and I give below its details.

In Mt. 247, it is said that Nārāyaṇa took the form of Varāha. It is first described that Vedas and all else on earth was burnt by Hiraṇyaretas.

पूर्णे युगसहस्रे तु ब्राह्मेऽहनि तथागते ।
निर्वाणे सर्वभूतानां सर्वोत्पातसमुद्भवे ॥ 247, 14
हिरण्यरेतास्त्रिशिखस्ततो भूत्वा वृषाकपिः ।
शिखाभिर्विधमल्लोकानशोषयत वह्निना ॥ 15

When all Vedas etc. were thus burning, they all, along with Brahmā, went to that Haṁsa, and entered into him (Haṁsa = Nārāyaṇa) (18-19). Then

[1] These verses are also found in VP 30, 72-77.

Nārāyaṇa slept away (27). Then again he got up (32). Then he delivered an Aṇḍa (Earth), which he bore for 1000 years (43).

248 continues the story and describes that this Aṇḍa, in due course, broke up into several parts. There grew several mountains on this Aṇḍa (Earth) and by their burden she started sinking in the ocean (8-9). Thereupon she prayed to Nārāyaṇa and he took the form of Varāha (63). He became Yajñavarāha. He, with his wife Chāyā, brought out the earth, which had gone to Rasātala.

छायापत्नीसहायो वै मणिशृङ्गमिवोच्छ्रितः
रसातले मग्नां रसातलतले गताम्
प्रभुर्लोकहितार्थाय दंष्ट्राग्रेणोज्जहार ताम् ॥ 74

After thus rescuing the Earth from the ocean, he made divisions on the Earth.

एवं यज्ञवराहेण भूत्वा भूतहितार्थिना ।
उद्धृता पृथिवी देवी सागराम्बुगता पुरा ॥ 77
अथोद्धृत्य क्षितिं देवो जगतः स्थापनेच्छया ।
पृथिवीप्रविभागाय मनश्चक्रेऽम्बुजेक्षणः ॥ 78
रसां गतामेवमचिन्त्यविक्रमः
सुरोत्तमः प्रवरवराहरूपधृक् ।
वृषाकपिः प्रसभमथैकदंष्ट्र्या
समुद्धरद्धरणिमतुल्यपौरुषः ॥ 79

This is a description of the Earth sinking in the ocean and its being rescued by Yajñavarāha. There is no mention in this of Hiraṇyākṣa.

Narasiṁha Purāṇa (49th) narrates the story thus. When Hari was sleeping in the ocean, Hiraṇyākṣa took away the bearing capacity (dhāraṇāśakti) of the Earth.

दितेः पुत्रो महानासीत् कश्यपादिति नः श्रुतम् ।
हिरण्याक्ष इति ख्यातो महाबलपराक्रमः ॥ 4
पाताले निवसन्दैत्यो देवानुपरुरोध सः ।
यज्विनामपकाराय यतते स तु भूतले ॥ 5
अथ भूम्युपरि स्थित्वा मर्त्या यक्षन्ति देवताः ।
तेन तेषां बलं वीर्यं तेजश्चापि भविष्यति ॥ 6
इति मत्वा हिरण्याक्षः कृतसर्गस्तु ब्रह्मणा ।
भूमेर्या धारणाशक्तिस्तां नीत्वा स महासुरः ॥ 7
विवेश तोयमध्ये तु रसातलतलं नृप ।
विना शक्त्या च जगती प्रविवेश रसातलम् ॥ 8

Then Viṣṇu took the form of Varāha and defeated Hiraṇyākṣa in a fight and rescued the Earth.

इत्थं कृत्वा तु वाराहं प्रविवेश वृषाकपिः ।
रसातलं नृपश्रेष्ठ सनकाद्यैरभिष्टुतः ॥

प्रविश्य च हिरण्याक्षं युद्धे जित्वा वृषाकपिः ॥
दंष्ट्राग्रेण ततः पृथ्वीं समुद्धृत्य रसातलात् ।
स्तूयमानोऽमरगणैः स्थापयामास पूर्ववत् ॥ 15
संस्थाप्य पर्वतान् सर्वान् यथास्थानमकल्पयत् ।
विहाय रूपं वाराहं तीर्थे कोकेति विश्रुते ॥ 16

At the tīrtha called Koka or Kokamukha, Varāha assumed his original form.

Bg III, 13-14, 17, 18, 19 describe Hiraṇyākṣa and his death. Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa are taken as twins. When Varāha was taking out the Earth from the ocean, Hiraṇyākṣa stopped him in the middle and a terrible fight ensued in which Hiraṇyākṣa was killed by Varāha.

4. *Amṛtamanthana*

Mt describes the fourth Devāsura called Amṛtamanthana in detail, in (249, 250, 251) three adhyāyas.

After the Devāsura, Śukra obtained sañjīvanī vidyā from Śiva and then all the Dānavas who were killed were revived. Thereupon, the Devas were disturbed and they went to Brahmā, who advised them to strive for amṛta. He said

क्रियताममृतोद्योगो मथ्यतां क्षीरवारिधिः ।
सहायं वरुणं कृत्वा चक्रपाणिर्विबोध्यताम् ॥ 249, 114
मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा शेषनेत्रेण वेष्टितम् ।
दानवेन्द्रो बलिः स्वामी स्तोककालं निवेश्यताम् ॥ 115
प्रार्थ्यतां कूर्मरूपश्च पाताले विष्णुरव्ययः ।
प्रार्थ्यतां मन्दरः शैलो मन्थकार्ये प्रवर्त्यताम् ॥ 116

Thus Brahmā advised them to make an endeavour to get Amṛta and for that purpose awaken Viṣṇu, make Mandara mountain as the churning rod (manthan), make Śeṣa, the serpent, as the chord (netra) and to accept Bali as their lord for some time (stokakālam). And then, the Devas went to Bali and said

तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं देवा जग्मुर्दानवमन्दिरम् ।
अलं विरोधेन वयं भृत्यास्तव बलेऽधुना ॥ 117

Thus the Devas made an alliance with Bali and they together went to Mandara and then to Kūrma and Śeṣa. They agreed to help them and the great churning (manthana) started (249, 50).

Then they requested Mahādeva to drink off the poison. And when he drank it, all became very glad.

पीयमाने विषे तस्मिंस्ततो देवा महासुराः ॥ 56
जगुश्च ननृतुश्चापि सिंहनादांश्च पुष्कलान् ।
चक्रुः शक्रमुखाद्याश्च हिरण्याक्षादयस्तथा ॥ 57

स्तुवन्तश्चैव देवेशं प्रसन्नाश्चाभवंस्तदा ।
कण्ठदेशं ततः प्राप्ते विषे देवमथाब्रुवन् ॥ 58
विरञ्चिप्रमुखा देवा बलिप्रमुखतोऽसुराः ॥

Here are mentioned Śukra, Hiraṇyākṣa, Brahmā and Bali.

Then came out Dhanvantari (251, 1) Madirā and then Amṛta (2). Then the Dānavas fought for possessing Amṛta. Viṣṇu, then, took the form of Mohinī (7) and went to the Dānavas, who gave Amṛta to her (8). Then Viṣṇu gave that Amṛta to Devas, who drank it off.

Then ensued great fight, but with the help of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the Devas won.

Then is mentioned the death of Rāhu.

ततः पिबत्सु तत्कालं देवेष्वमृतमीप्सितम् ।
राहुर्विबुधरूपेण दानवोऽप्यपिबत्तदा ॥ 251, 12
तस्य कण्ठमनुप्राप्ते दानवस्यामृते तदा ।
आख्यातं चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां सुराणां हितकाम्यया ॥ 13
ततो भगवता तस्य शिरच्छिन्नमलंकृतम् ।
चक्रायुधेन चक्रेण पिबतोऽमृतमोजसा ॥ 14
तच्छैलशृंगप्रतिमं दानवस्य शिरो महत् ।
चक्रेणोत्कृत्तमपतच्चालयद्वसुधातलम् ॥ 15
ततो वैरविनिर्बन्धः कृतो राहुमुखेन वै ।
शाश्वतश्चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां प्रसह्याद्यापि बाधते ॥

Here is narrated how Rāhu's head was cut off and how there started permanent animosity between Rāhu and the Sun and the Moon.

5. *Tārakāmaya*

The fifth Devāsura is called Tārakāmaya and under it, I give the story of Tāraka, his son and some other Daityas.

Mt (146 ff) gives the story of Tāraka.

Dakṣa was Brahmā's mānasa son. Diti, Dakṣa's daughter, gave birth to Hiraṇyakaśipu.

हिरण्यकशिपुश्चक्रे जित्वा राज्यं महाबलः ॥ 146, 23
ततः केनापि कालेन हिरण्यकशिपादयः ।
निहता विष्णुना संख्ये शेषाश्चेन्द्रेण दानवाः ॥ 24

Thus Tāraka's story starts after the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu and others. Then Diti asked Kaśyapa to give her a son, who would kill Indra. She conceived but Indra cut the foetus into 49 parts. She, once again, conceived and gave birth to Vajrāṅga. Vajrāṅga then tied up Indra and brought him to his mother (47). At that, Brahmā and Kaśyapa came to him and told him to let Indra go. Vajrāṅga did so. Then Brahmā created a woman called Varāṅgī

and gave her to him as wife. Vajrāṅga retired to forest with his wife and practised penance. His wife also practised penance.

तस्यां तपसि वर्तन्त्यामिन्द्रश्चक्रे विभीषिकाम् ।
भूत्वा तु मर्कटस्तत्र 63

Indra harassed Varāṅgī as she was practising penance by taking the form of Markaṭa (monkey), then of Meṣa, then of Bhujaṅga, of Somayu, of Megha. Indra thus harassed her and the Ashrama. Varāṅgī was much pained. Meanwhile Vajrāṅga completed his penance and went to his wife who was weeping. She asked for a son, who would defeat Indra. Brahmā, then, gave him a boon and Vajrāṅga had by Varāṅgī a son who was named Tāraka. And in due course Tāraka was put on the throne (here ends adhyāya 147).

Tāraka told all the Daityas that he would go and practise penance as without penance Indra could not be won. So,

सोऽगच्छत्पारियात्रस्य गिरेः कंदरमुत्तमम् ॥ 148, 7

he went to a cave of Pāriyātra mountain and practised severe penance there. At the end Brahmā came. Tāraka requested him that he should not be killed by any one; but Brahmā said

न युज्यन्ते विना मृत्युं देहिनो दैत्यसत्तम ।
यतस्ततोऽपि वरय मृत्युं यस्मान्न विशङ्कसे ॥ 22

Then Tāraka desired that he may be killed by a child just seven days old.

ततो संचिन्त्य दैत्येन्द्रः शिशोर्वै सप्तवासरात् ।
वव्रे महासुरो मृत्युमवलेपेन मोहितः ॥ 23

Brahmā agreed.

Then Tāraka conquered all the worlds and Devas had a long continued fight with him. Daityas named Grasana, Mathana, Kujambha, Jambha, Kālanemi, Nimi, Śumbha are mentioned in this connection. After a prolonged fight these were killed. And when Jambha was killed by Indra (153, verse 154), Tāraka himself came out for fight and the Devas were all defeated. They went away.

Then later, Tāraka was killed by Kārtikeya, the son of Śiva.

In Mt adhyāya 172 ff, Tārakāmaya is described. It is said

वृत्ते वृत्रवधे तत्र वर्तमाने कृते युगे ।
आसीत् त्रैलोक्यविख्यातः संग्रामस्तारकामयः ॥ 172, 10

This Tārakāmaya happened after the fight with Vṛtra. When the Daityas and Dānavas grew very strong, Devas went to Nārāyaṇa, who promised them to destroy the Daityas. Hearing this, Maya made a chariot, Virocana led the army (173, 14), Hayagrīva drove the chariot (15), Varāha or Vārāha also stood at the head of the army (16), Khara also became ready for fight (17), Tvaṣṭā, the Dānava, set on an elephant and arranged the army (18), Śveta, the

son of Vipracitti, became ready for fight (19), Kiśora (21), Lamba (22), Svarbhānu (23), Haṁsa (24)—all these prepared for fight.

At the end of several years, there fell herds of elephants, varāhas, śarabhas and beasts as well as puṣpaphaladrumāḥ, in large numbers; and then by the powers of the fruits and by the juice of the flowers and herbs, kṣīra (milk) of the sea turned into dadhi (curds) (249, 59-60). Then due to violent churning, trees fell, fire was ignited. This fire was extinguished by rains (75).

ततो नानारसास्तत्र सुस्रुवुः सागराम्भसि ।
महाद्रुमाणां निर्यासाः बहवश्चौषधिरसाः ॥ 76
तेषाममृतवीर्याणां रसानां पयसैव च ।
अमरत्वं सुरा जग्मुः काञ्चनच्छविसंनिभाः ॥ 77
अथ तस्य समुद्रस्य तज्जातमुदकं पयः ।
रसान्तरैर्विमिश्रं च ततः क्षीरादभूद्घृतम् ॥ 78

Then the Devas said to Brahmā that they were tired. Then Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) gave them new strength (82).

Then they, once again, churned. Then came out Soma (250, 2), then Śrī (3), Surā (3), Turaga (Pāṇḍura 3), Kaustubha (4), Pārijāta (5). Then they saw smoke, on smelling which, they all fainted. Then was seen terrible fire. Then, were born black serpents of dudūbha variety (10) and other insects, flies and animals and poisonous ones. Then Hālāhala was born. This Kālakūṭa told them that he was born because they were fighting amongst themselves (21-22).

Deva's army consisted of Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Soma, Vāyu, Maruts and others.

Then occurred the fight between the two (175, 76-78). Kālanemi took the lead of the Daityas and when encountered by Viṣṇu, he said among other things

एषोऽनन्तः पुरा भूत्वा पद्मनाभ इति श्रुतः ।
जघानैकार्णवे घोरे तावुभौ मधुकैटभौ ॥ 78, 18
द्विधा भूतं वपुः कृत्वा सिंहस्यार्धं नरस्य च ।
पितरं मे जघानैको हिरण्यकशिपुं पुरा ॥ 19

Then followed a terrible fight in which Viṣṇu killed Kālanemi (50-51) and all the other Daityas and Dānavas. Then Viṣṇu told the Devas

अस्मिन्महति संग्रामे दैतेयौ द्वौ विनिःसृतौ ।
विरोचनश्च दैत्येन्द्रः स्वर्भानुश्च महाग्रहः ॥ 178, 67

This means that Virocana and Svarbhānu (or Rāhu) escaped, all else were destroyed.

Then the Devas ruled as before.

6. *Āḍibāka*

The sixth Devāsura is called Āḍibaka. This word is a compound made up of Āḍi and Baka, both of whom were brothers. They were the sons of Andhaka. This is clear from Mt 156.

ज्ञात्वा तु ततो गिरिसुतां दैत्यस्तत्रान्तरे वशी।
अन्धकस्य सुतो दृप्तः पितुर्वधमनुस्मरन्॥ 156, 11
देवान्सर्वान्विजित्याजौ बकभ्राता रणोत्कटः।
आडिर्नामान्तरप्रेक्षी सततं चन्द्रमौलिनः॥ 12
आजगामामररिपुः पुरं त्रिपुरघातिनः।

Āḍi, the brother of Baka and son of Andhaka went to fight against Śiva. He saw Vīraka protecting the door. Āḍi went for penance and asked Brahmā that he should only die when there was his rūpasya parivartaḥ (change in his form). Brahmā agreed.

Āḍi, then, went to Śaṅkara's place and taking the form of a serpent escaped Vīraka and went inside. There, he took the form of Umā and at first deceived Śaṅkara. But Śaṅkara soon learnt who he was and killed him.

Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ninth Adhyāya, is entitled Āḍibakayuddha. There it is said that Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, taking the form of Baka and Āḍi (two birds) respectively, fought with one another, till Brahmā came and separated them.

7. *Traipura*

The seventh Devāsura is called Traipura. It is thus described in Mt 129 ff.

An asura named Maya, when defeated, practised penance. Along with him, Vidyunmāli and Tārakākhya also practised penance. When Brahmā was pleased Maya asked that he would build a city, which would have three puras; but this city should be such that it could be destroyed by one arrow only. Brahmā agreed.

So, Maya built three puras, very well fortified and then, in one pura, he lived, in another Tārakākhya, and in the third Vidyunmāli lived. Then all the Daityas from Sutala and Pātāla came and lived there.

Then the Devas went to Brahmā, who told them that only Mahādeva can destroy that city with one arrow. Mahādeva is here described as kratuvidhvaṁsakam haram (132, 15). This Maya is called ditiputra.

मयो नाम दितेः पुत्रः (133, 7)

Tārakākhya is called Tārakāsuta.

शरेण भित्त्वा स हि तारकासुतं
स तारकाख्यासुरमाबभाषे॥ 135, 79

When Tārakākhya was killed and when Vidyunmāli was also killed, Maya created a vāpi (well) and immersed the body of Vidyunmāli in it, on which the

latter came to life (17). Then all the Daityas came to life. Then Viṣṇu in the form of a Vṛṣa, drank off that vāpi (136, 62).

Then Maya established the whole city on the ocean.

इत्युक्त्वा स मयो दैत्यो दैत्यानामधिपस्तदा ।
त्रिपुरेण ययौ तूर्णं सागरं सिन्धुबान्धवम् ॥ 137, 22
सागरे जलगम्भीर उत्पपात पुरं वरम् ।

Then the Devas attacked that city. Tārakākhya was killed (138), Vidyunmāli was killed (140, 36). Then Mahādeva threw an arrow at Tripura and simultaneously told Nandikeśvara to go and ask Maya to run away.

अनेनैव गृहेण त्वमपक्राम (140, 51)

Maya did so, because he was his devotee (49). Maya ran away and then Tripura was burnt by the arrow.

8. *Andhaka*

The eighth Devāsura seems to be connected with Andhaka. We get the following information about Andhaka in Mt 179.

Andhaka, once, saw Mahādeva with Pārvatī. He tried to take away Pārvatī. Then

तस्य युद्धं तदा घोरमभवत्सह शंभुना ॥ 174, 4
अवन्तिविषये घोरे महाकालवनं प्रति ।

There Rudra was very much afflicted by Andhaka. He then created mātaras (mother-goddesses). They started drinking Andhaka's blood, but he still grew. Then Śaṅkara went to Viṣṇu, who created śuṣkarevatī (36).

चा पपौ सकलं तेषामन्धकानामसृक्क्षणात् ॥ 36

and then all the Andhakas and Andhaka himself were killed.

Story of Andhaka is given in great details in VP (19; 59; 68; 70) but the substance is the same.

9. *Dhvaja*

It is said that Vipracitti was killed in this Devāsura, but no other detail is found about this saṅgrāma. It is very likely that this has connection with Indradhvaja or Jarjara.

10. *Vṛtra* or *Vārtra*

This fight is described in Bhāgavata. Bg VI, 9-12 describe it thus.

Aditi had a son named Viśvarūpa. He was also called Triśiras, having three heads. Viśvarūpa became Deva's purohita and by his Vaiṣṇavī Vidyā, he used to protect the Devas against Śukra. But Indra doubted Viśvarūpa and so killed him. He thus incurred Brahmahatyā.

Then Tvaṣṭā, his father, created from the sacrifice Vṛtrāsura. Vṛtra harassed and defeated the Devas. Then Indra got made a vajra from Dadhici's

bones and with this vajra, he fought against Vṛtra. Fight ensued and Vṛtra started loosing. Then Vṛtra said, "Oh Vipracitti, O Namuci, Puloma, Haya, Anarva, Śambara ! do not run away." (IV, 10, 30-31)[1]

But they did not turn back. Vṛtra fought and was ultimately killed by Indra (IV, 12, 32-34).

12. *Kolāhala*

The twelfth Devāsura is called Kolāhala, in which Raji is involved. The story of Raji is found in Brahma Purāṇa (11, 4 ff).

When the Devāsura fight was going on, both the Devas and Asuras asked Brahmā, as to who would win. To them Brahmā replied

येषामर्थाय संग्रामे रजिरात्तायुधः प्रभुः ।
योत्स्यते ते विजेष्यन्ते त्रींल्लोकान्नात्र संशयः ॥

Then both the Devas and Dānavas went to Raji, wooing (vṛṇvānā) him. Raji was

स हि स्वर्भानुदौहित्रः प्रभायां समपद्यत ।
राजा परमतेजस्वी सोमवंशविवर्धनः ॥

Raji was the son of (Āyu and) Prabhā, who was Svarbhānu's daughter.

Both the Devas and Dānavas asked Raji to fight for them. Then Raji made a condition. He said to the Devas,

यदि दैत्यगणान्सर्वाञ्जित्वा वीर्येण वासव ।
इन्द्रो भवामि धर्मेण ततो योत्स्यामि संयुगे ॥ 12

His condition was that if he destroyed all the Dānavas, he should be their king. Devas who were wise (vipra) agreed to this proposal. Raji then repeated the offer to the Dānavas, who did not agree. They said :

अस्माकमिन्द्रः प्रह्लादो यस्यार्थे विजयामहे ।
अस्मिंस्तु समरे राजंस्तिष्ठ त्वं राजसत्तम ॥ 16

So Raji fought for the Devas and destroyed all the Dānavas. After the victory, Indra said to Raji ;

रजिपुत्रोऽहमित्युक्त्वा पुनरेवाब्रवीद्वचः ।
इन्द्रोऽसि तात देवानां सर्वेषां नात्र संशयः ॥ 20
यस्याहमिन्द्रः पुत्रस्ते

Indra called himself to be the son of Raji and said that Raji was the king of all the Devas, since Indra, his son, was their king.

स तु शक्रवचः श्रुत्वा वञ्चितस्तेन मायया ।
तथेत्यब्रवीद्राजा प्रीयमाणः शतक्रतुम् ॥

Thus Raji was deceived by Indra and Raji retired to forest.

[1] हे विप्रचित्ते नमुचे पुलोमन् मयानर्वञ्छम्बर मे शृणुध्वम् ।

But after the death of Raji, his sons captured the kingdom from Indra.

तस्मिंस्तु देवैः सहृशे दिवं प्राप्ते महीपतौ ।
दायाद्यमिन्द्रादाजह्रुः राज्यं तत्तनया रजेः ॥

These descendants of Raji ruled over svarga for some time, but ultimately they lost.

पञ्च पुत्रशतान्यस्य तद्वै स्थानं शतक्रतोः ॥ 23
समाक्रामन्त बहुधा स्वर्गलोकं त्रिविष्टपम् ।
ते यदा तु स्वसंमूढा रागोन्मत्ता विधर्मिणः ॥
ब्रह्मद्विषश्च संवृत्ता हतवीर्यपराक्रमाः ।
ततो लेभे स्वमैश्वर्यमिन्द्रः स्थानं तथोत्तमम् ।
हृत्वा (हत्वा ?) रजिसुतान्सर्वान्कामक्रोधपरायणान् ॥ 25

These Raji's descendants, in course of time, became religionless and anti-Brahma and then they lost. This last portion is told differently in Padma Purāṇa. It is said there that when Rajiputras conquered svarga, Indra requested Bṛhaspati to intervene. Then Bṛhaspati

गत्वाथ मोहयामास रजिपुत्रान्बृहस्पतिः ।
जिनधर्मं समास्थाय वेदबाह्यं च वेदवित् ॥ 25, 47
वेदत्रयीपरिभ्रष्टांश्चकार धिषणाधिपः ।
वेदबाह्यान्परिज्ञाय हेतुवादसमन्वितान् ॥ 48
जघान शक्रो वज्रेण सर्वान्धर्मबहिष्कृतान् ।

Here, Bṛhaspati is described as having taught them Jinadharma, which was vedabāhya. And thus when Rajiputras followed a religion, which was opposed to Vedas, Indra could kill them all.

II

The Interpretation

These wars are called Devāsurasaṅgrāmas. Let us, therefore, see who these Devas and Asuras were. We shall first try to see who the Asuras were,

The first saṅgrāma, it is said, was between Hiraṇyakaśipu and Narasiṁha. This Hiraṇyakaśipu is said to have been a son of Diti and Kaśyapa (NP, 49,4). He was, therefore, a Daitya. His brother Hiraṇyākṣa also was involved in a saṅgrāma (Vārāha, third) and he, too, was a Daitya. In the second saṅgrāma Bali was involved and Bali was the great grandson of Hiraṇyakaśipu and was, therefore, a Daitya[1]. In the fourth, Prahlāda was defeated by Indra and Prahlāda, being the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, was a Daitya. In the fifth, Virocana, the son of Prahlāda and father of Bali was killed and therefore, he, too, was a Daitya. In the sixth, Jambha was killed and Jambha is called a Daitya (Mt. 153rd Adhyāya). In the next two (7th and 8th), no individuals are named as

Vp. 89.31 gives Vidhyavali as the name of Bali's wife.

defeated. In the ninth called Andhakāraka, Vipracitti is said to have been defeated. This Vipracitti was the son of Danu (a sister of Diti) and Kaśyapa and was, thus, a Dānava. But Vipracitti had married Siṁhikā, sister of Hiraṇyakaśipu and was, thus, intimately connected with the Daitya family. Regarding tenth and eleventh saṅgrāmas, no individuals are named as defeated. About the twelfth, it is said that all Daityas were defeated by Raji.

So far, we have considered this from the point of the information that is given in Bd, Vy and Mt. But we get somewhat different information also. The fifth is called Tārakāmaya and in Mt (146 ff), it is said that Tāraka and other Daityas were killed in this war. Tāraka, who was the chief person in this war, was a Daitya. He was the son of Vajrāṅga, who himself was Diti's son[1]. The sixth is called Āḍibaka and we get information from Mt that both Āḍi and Baka were Andhaka's sons[2] and Andhaka was Hiraṇyākṣa's son and so a Daitya[3]. This accounts for the ninth which is called Andhakāraka in Bd and Andhakavadha in Ag. The seventh is named as Traipura and in that fight Maya, Vidyunmāli, Tārakākhya, Kālanemi, Hayagrīva, Khara, Tvaṣṭā, Śveta, Ariṣṭa, Svarbhānu, Kiśora, Lamba, Haṁsa, Virocana and others were involved. Out of these, Maya was a Daitya[4]. Kālanemi, too, was a Daitya as he calls himself Hiraṇyakaśipu's son.

पितरं मे जघानैको हिरण्यकशिपुं पुरा (Mt 178, 19).

Virocana, being the son of Prahlāda, was a Daitya. Ariṣṭa is called the son of Bali[5] and thus was a Daitya. Tārakākhya seems to have been the son of Tāraka[6] and was a Daitya. Śveta was the son of Vipracitti[7] and thus was a Dānava, but he was also the nephew (sister's son) of Hiraṇyakaśipu, a Daitya.[8] Svarbhānu was a Daitya.[9] Tvaṣṭā was a Dānava.[10] Vidyunmāli too seems to have been a Daitya.

[1] Mt, 147th adhyāya.

[2] About Āḍi it is said: अन्धकस्य सुतो ह्यसः.....बकभ्राता रणोत्कटः (156, 11-12 Mt).

[3] आसीद्दैत्योऽन्धको नाम (Mt 179, 2). He is taken as the son of Hiraṇyākṣa in VP (63, 5-8). In VP 70th, 65 Andhaka is called Hairaṇyākṣa.

[4] मयो नाम दितेः पुत्रः (Mt 133, 7). Maya is also called a son of Vipracitti. Maya is said to have two daughters named Kuhū and Upadānvī, (Mt 6, 21). This Upadānvī was married to Hiraṇyākṣa.

[5] Mt 173, 20.

[6] Mt 135, 79.

[7] Mt 173, 19.

[8] Vy 67th, 57 ff ; Mt 6th, 26-27.

[9] Mt 178, 67 ; He is also called a Dānava, Cp. Mt, 251, 12.

[10] Mt 173, 18.

Ag calls[11] Hālāhala and Kolāhala to have been Daityas.

Vṛtra or the Vārtra, was Tvaṣṭā's son or grandson[12] and thus was a Dānava.

All this shows that for the most part, it is the family of Hiraṇyakaśipu which was involved in the Devāsuras for five generations—Hiraṇyakaśipu, his son Prahlāda, his son Virocana, his son Bali and his son Ariṣṭa. Hiraṇyākṣa, Vipracitti and his son Śveta almost belonged to this family. Then there are Tāraka, Andhaka and his sons Āḍi and Baka and Maya and others. All these were Daityas, while some of them were Dānavas. Thus the word Asura in the compound Devāsura, would include both Daityas and Dānavas. It is clear that, in this context of Devāsuras, Asura is neither a family name nor a tribal name. Nor are Rākṣasas or Piśācas meant by Asura.

I cannot go into details, but a general impression which is left on the mind is this that in this Puranic context, Asura would mean Daityas and Dānavas taken together. We sometimes meet with a classification like Asuras, Rākṣasas and Piśācas where Asuras are distinct from Rākṣasas and Piśācas and would, in all likelihood, include only Daityas and Dānavas.

(2)

Now let us see who the Devas of the Devāsurasaṅgrāma were. Devas were usually headed by Indra. Now it is clear that Indra was not a proper name of any one person. It was a generic title for a king.[1] Both Devas and Daityas called their king by the title Indra.

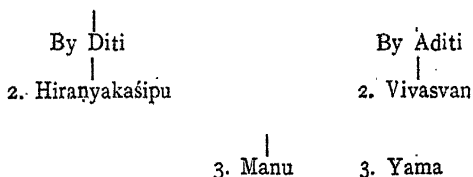
But in several cases, it is said that when the Devas were harassed by Asuras, Indra went to Brahmā or Viṣṇu and it was some one else, who actually defeated or killed the Daitya chief. Let us, therefore, study these names. In the first saṅgrāma, Hiraṇyakaśipu was killed by Narasiṁha. Who was this Narasiṁha ? He could not have been man-lion, as he is usually made out to be. It is very likely that he was a human being. Like Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Narasiṁha, too, is likely to have been a human being, who was later deified. If so, let us see who he was. We have seen that Hiraṇyakaśipu was the son of Diti and, therefore, Narasiṁha, who killed Hiraṇyakaśipu, must have been almost at the same step. But even after ransacking every available genealogy in all the Purāṇas, of the Sūrya and Soma dynasties, as also of the Svyāmbhuva dynasty with its branches and even of the Ṛṣivaṁśas and the families of Kaśyapa and his various wives, we do not find any name like Narasiṁha anywhere. We, however, find one Narsih in Iranian genealogy. This geneaolgy stands thus:

[11] Ag, 276, 23-24.

[12] Bg IV, 9-12.

This genealogy is seen at SBE V, p. 131 and also at 140n (with some variations) and at both the places Narsih occurs as a son of Vivanghan.

Now, I must point out that Vivanghan of this line is the same as Vivasvan of the Indian lines. This is now admitted by scholars. It is, here, said that Yim is a son of Vivanghan and even in Indian Purāṇas, it is said that Yama was the son of Vivasvat or Vivasvan. Yim and Yama are taken as the same. It is, therefore, clear that Narsih, who was the brother of Yim, was the son of Vivasvan and was, therefore, the brother of Manu Vaivasvata. Thus he will be one step below Hiraṇyakaśipu. The line will stand thus:

1. Kaśyapa

I, therefore, identify Narasiṁha, who killed Hiraṇyakaśipu with Narsih of the Iranian line. In that case, the name will not be nara+siṁha but Narsih (as is given in Iranian sources) whatever it may mean[1]. I shall not examine here other implications of this identification of Narasiṁha with Narsih, but they are many and very important.

Hiraṇyakaśipu's brother Hiraṇyākṣa was killed by Varāha. Let us see who this Varāha was. Varāha also is not found in any of the genealogies preserved in the Purāṇas. But Varāha is identified with Vṛṣākapi in Mt 247,15; 248,79

[1] Narsih, the brother of Yim, was also called the Rashnu (or Minos) of chino (SBE V, 130-1). Minos is the same as Manu. It is a generic title.

and in NP 49, 14-15 all of which verses are quoted earlier. These references mean that Vṛṣākapi, who had taken the form of Varāha, had killed Hiraṇyākṣa. Vṛṣākapi occurs in Ṛgveda, where he is taken as a non-human being. But Vṛṣākapi is given as one of the eleven Rudras in the Purāṇas. Ag (XVIII,41 ff) gives the Rudras thus :

Kaśyapa (by Surabhi)
|
eleven Rudras named

Ajaikapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Tvaṣṭā, Rudra, Hara, Bahurūpa, Tryambaka, *Vṛṣākapi*, Śambhu, Kapardi, Raivata, Mṛgavyādha, Sarpa, Aparājita, Kapāli. But the text is not clear here and gives 15 names in place of 11 ; it is likely that some of these are adjectives.

Brahma (III, 46 ff) also has the same names for Rudras by Kaśyapa and Surabhi.

Matsya (V, 29-30) has the following eleven names, where Vṛṣākapi is not one: Ajaikapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Virūpākṣa, Raivata, Hara, Bahurūpa, Tryambạka, Sureśvara, Sāvitra, Jayanta, Pināki and Aparājita.

The question, therefore, whether Vṛṣākapi was a Rudra or not cannot be satisfactorily resolved. But for our purpose, we may take it, on the authority of Mt and NP that Varāha was Vṛṣākapi; and if Vṛṣākapi was the son of Kaśyapa and Surabhi, he will be at the same step as Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa. We cannot be more definite about Varāha than this at the present moment. I should point out, however, that Varāha is taken as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, which does not fit in with his being a Rudra.

About Vāmana, who tied up Bali, we know nothing definite. One Vāmana is given amongst the sons of Danu,[1] but he cannot be our Vāmana. Another Vāmana is given as the son of Kaśyapa and Kadru and as such is made a Nāga.[2] We do not know if this Vāman had anything to do with Bali. Of course, he is at a step, where he is not far removed from Bali. But we are told in Mt 244-46 that Viṣṇu was born to Aditi as Vāmana (244, 49-52).[3] In this case, Vāmana will be the son of Aditi and will be at the same step as

[1] Br. III, 73 H

[2] Br. III, 101

[3] Cp. also मारिचात्काश्यपाद्विष्णुरदित्यां सम्बभूव ह ।
त्रिभिः क्रमैरिमाँल्लोकाञ्जित्वा विष्णुरुरुक्रमम् ॥

Vy, 66, 135

Vy also says that Vāmana was called Viṣṇu :

यस्माद्विष्टमिदं सर्वं वामनेनेह जायता ।
तस्मात्स वै स्मृतो विष्णुर्विशेर्धातोः प्रवेशणात् ॥

Vy, 66, 137

Hiraṇyakaśipu. It is also likely that just as Varāha was not the name of any person but was the form taken by Vṛṣākapi, Vāmana was also not the name of any person but was the form taken by Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu is taken as one of the Ādityas. Ag clearly calls Vāmana to be the son of Aditi (देवासुरे वामनश्च च्छलित्वा बलमूर्जितम्। महेन्द्राय ददौ राज्यं काश्यपोऽदितिसंभवः ॥—Ag 277, 14).

Indra, who is described as having defeated Prahlāda and others, is often described as a brother of Viṣṇu and son of Aditi. Therefore, he was an Āditya.

Thus Narsih was an Āditya (being Vivasvan's son). Vāmana as Viṣṇu is likely to have been an Āditya. Indra was an Āditya. It is to be seen if Varāha was an Āditya or not.

In Tārakāmaya, Traipura, Āḍibaka and Andhakavadha–in these saṅgrāmas, it is Rudra or Tryambaka who is described as the champion of the Devas and as the vanquisher of Asuras. Now Rudra, in the Purāṇas, is very loudly called a son-in-law of Dakṣa. Dakṣa's daughter Satī had married Rudra. Thus Rudra was Aditi's sister's husband and as such was mother's sister's husband (mātṛ-śvaṣeya) of Narsih, Vāmana, Viṣṇu and Indra.

Thus all these who ranged against the Daityas and Dānavas were cousins. In fact, this analysis shows that Narsih, Viṣṇu, Vāman, Indra, Varāha and Rudra were brothers or cousins amongst themselves and were also cousins to Hiraṇya-kaśipu and others. Thus these feuds were family feuds for the sake of getting one another's kingdoms.

(3)

We shall, now consider the question of the relative chronological sequence of these Devāsuras. Numbers, which are given in the Purāṇas, do not necessarily show the chronological order. We shall, therefore, examine this question here.

It is very categorically said that there was complete friendship between the Devas and Asuras for ten Yugākhyās.[1]

सख्यमासीत्परं तेषां देवानामसुरैः सह ।
युगाख्या दश संपूर्णा ह्यासीदव्याहतं जगत्॥ Bd. III, 72, 69

For these ten yugākhyas, Devas and Asuras lived peacefully under one rule. This was the rule of Hiraṇyakaśipu and Bali. It is said that Hiraṇyakaśipu ruled first and then ruled Bali. And it is said clearly that both Devas and Asuras were under the rule of these two.

---

[1] Following are the readings in Vy and Mt.
Vy (1) युगं वै दश संकीर्णमासीद्०
(2) युगाख्या दश संकीर्णा
Mt (1) युगाख्या सुर संपूर्णा
(2) युगाख्या दश संपूर्णा

हिरण्यकशिपुर्दैत्यस्त्रैलोक्यं प्राक्प्रशासति ।
बलिनाधिष्ठितं राज्यं पुनर्लोकत्रये क्रमात् ॥ Bd. III, 72, 68
निदेशस्थायिनश्चैव तयोर्देवासुराभवन् ।

Then it is said that struggle between these started when Bali was tied up.

बद्धे बलौ विवादोऽथ संप्रवृत्तः सुदारुणः ॥ Bd. III, 72, 70.

This is one datum that we get.

We note another datum. While describing the court of Hiraṇyakaśipu (at the time of Narasiṁha's arrival) it is said that amongst others, Prahlāda, Virocana and Bali also were present there. This would mean that Bali, who was great grandson of Hiraṇyakaśipu, was grown up enough (at the time of H's death) to occupy a place in H's court. Above, it is said that Devas and Asuras lived in harmony during the reigns of Hiraṇyakaśipu and Bali and I take it to mean that Bali had already started ruling over a province of Hiraṇyakaśipu's kingdom and occupied the throne on his death.

The sequence of events as can be gathered from Bd III, 72 ff seems to be this:

There was peace for ten yugākhyās. Then Hiraṇyakaśipu was killed. Then Bali, not Virocana or Prahlāda, came on the throne. Then probably in the same year, but after Amṛtamanthana (as we shall see later), Bali was tied up, Hiraṇyākṣa Jambha and Virocana were killed. Then Prahlāda headed the Asuras, Bali having gone to Rasātala. Then they went to Kāvya, who promised to help them but could not. So he went to perform penance and after some time he completed his penance but was captivated by Jayantī, the daughter of Indra. Then he remained invisible for ten years (daśa varṣāṇi). For these ten years Devas ruled without a rival and Asuras, under Prahlāda, accepted their rule. When after ten years Kāvya came out, Prahlāda was still leading the Asuras. Thereafter, Asuras won once and then were driven to Rasātala.

We shall consider this from the point of Bali's life. It should be understood that there have been three epochs in Bali's life. (1) First epoch would cover the period before he was tied up. (2) Second epoch would cover the period during which he was tied up and retired to Rasātala, biding his time to return. (3) Third epoch would be the period of his regaining the kingdom and after.

During the first epoch, Hiraṇyakaśipu was killed. Bali then ruled as the king of the Asuras and Amṛtamanthana happened soon after H's death. During Amṛtamanthana, H is not mentioned as ruling but Bali is mentioned as ruling and it was under Bali that both Devas and Asuras strove for Amṛta. This shows that Amṛtamanthana happened after the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu. So, during the first epoch, happened the death of Hiraṇyakaśipu and Amṛtamanthana.

During the second epoch happened all other incidents. Soon after Amṛtamanthana, must have happened Varāha and Vāman *i.e.* soon after it, Hiraṇyākṣa must have been killed and Bali must have been tied up. Hiraṇyākṣa is described as having participated in Amṛtamanthana.

Tārakāmaya, in which Virocana took part, does not show any participation of Hiraṇyākṣa and Bali, which would mean that Hiraṇyākṣa was killed and Bali was tied up before Tārakāmaya. Similarly, Traipura and Vārtra talk of Vipracitti and others but have no reference to Hiraṇyākṣa and Bali. Therefore, Tārakāmaya, Traipura and Vārtra happened during the second epoch of Bali's life. But out of these three Vārtra had happened first as is said clearly :—

वृत्ते वृत्रवधे तत्र वर्तमाने कृते युगे ।
आसीत् त्रैलोक्यविख्यातः संग्रामस्तारकामयः ॥ Mt 172, 10.

This accounts for seven Devāsuras. Dhvaja[1] in which Jambha is said to have been killed, also must have occurred during this second epoch, as Jambha was also involved in Tārakāmaya. Thus eight Devāsuras are accounted for.

Hālāhala, if it refers to the poison taken by Śiva and if it occurred during Amṛtamanthana, must have happend during this second epoch.

Āḍibaka[2] and Andhakavadha also are likely to have occurred during this second epoch, because (1) Andhaka is taken as Diti's son and Āḍi is Andhaka's son. This, if true, will give only two generations from H, who, too, was Diti's son. (2) Rudra, who killed Andhaka, was Dakṣa's son-in-law and H was Dakṣa's grandson by daughter. Therefore Rudra's killing of Andhaka and Āḍi could have happened during Bali's second epoch.

Kolāhala also happened during the second epoch, because Prahlāda is said to have been the king at that time, which means that Bali was still in Rasātala.

Thus all the twelve Devāsuras happened during the first and second epochs of Bali's life. As a matter of fact, except Narasiṁha and Amṛtamanthana (which occurred during the first epoch), all the other Devāsuras happened during this second epoch.

[1] The character of Dhvaja is not at all clear; but I hazard a conjecture. This is likely to be connected with Indramaha or Jarjara, in which Indra drove away the Dānavas by means of the rod of his flag; and Jambha might have been involved in it. Cp. NS'. In Rāmāyaṇa, Tāṭakā's father's name is given (24, 78, Cr. Ed.) as Jambha, but there are many readings for Jambha and the Editor has left it as doubtful. Cp. जम्भपुत्राय सुन्दाय ददौ भार्यां यशस्विनीम् । *v. l.* for जम्भ is धुन्धु.

[2] Kakustha seems to have helped Indra in Āḍibaka. Cp.

इन्द्रस्य वृषभूतस्य ककुत्स्थो जायते पुरा ॥ Vy 88, 24
पूर्वमाडिबके युद्धे ककुत्स्थस्तेन संस्मृतः ।

Thus the time-scheme which emerges is this :—

(1) Ten yugākhyās of peace under the rule of H and Bali at the end of which H was killed. (1)

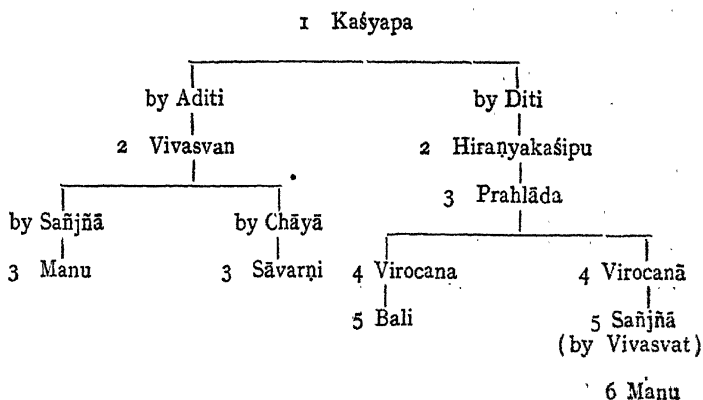
(2) About an year in which Bali was the ruler and Amṛtamanthana happened.

(3) At the end of this Hiraṇyākṣa was killed (2) and Bali was tied up (3) and retired to Rasātala.

(4) Then Prahlāda became the king of Daityas, and all the remaining eight Devāsuras occurred, the last being Kolāhala during which Prahlāda was still ruling.

(5) Thereafter, the Daityas went to Rasātala. Prahlāda might have expired then. But Bali was living and was biding his time to return.

There is a statement about Bali that he would regain his rule during Sāvarṇika manvantara.[2] I explain this statement thus:

Vivasvat had a son called Manu by Sañjñā Tvāṣṭrī.[1] He had another son called Sāvarṇi by Chāyā. Now Sañjñā was the grand-daughter of Prahlāda. Prahlāda's daughter Virocanā was married to Tvaṣṭā, by whom she had Sañjñā.[3] The table will stand thus :—

Thus Bali and Sāvarṇi could have been contemporaries. It is to be understood that the Manvantaras did not occur one after the other, but were simultaneous. It was only very late that they were taken as lineal instead of collateral as they really were. Bali might have regained his kingdom after Manu's death, but during Sāvarṇi's life-time. Thus Bali's coming back to kingdom could have happened during Sāvarṇi's time.

All the Purāṇas.
Bd III, 73, 52.
Vy. 84.

(6) I must, here, point out that, in this context, yugākhyā means caturyuga[1] and yuga means one year. Caturyuga, at this early period, seems to have been of four years and therefore ten yugākhyās will mean 40 years. It would mean that H ruled for 40 years unrivalled and these 40 years were the years of good harmony between the Devas and the Asuras.

(7) Thus we get 40 years of peace + about one year (during which Amṛtamanthana happened) + 10 years of Deva's supremacy during Kāvya's retirement + about one year during which Asuras were victorious once. At the end of this period, Asuras went to Rasātala, (where Bali was), Prahlāda died and Bali remained invisible or incognito, biding his time.

I shall now make a calculation of another nature. When H was killed, I take it that Bali must have been 25 or 30 years old. This I say because Bali was occupying H's court. Amṛtamanthana must have occurred soon after, perhaps in the same year in which H was killed. Bali must have been about 30 years then.

At this time, Bali retired to Rasātala and Prahlāda kept on leading the Daityas and most probably adopted a policy of conciliation with the Devas. Prahlāda continued to lead the Daityas till the days of Raji. This was the time when Ṣaṇḍa and Marka were won over. In this connection, the time-analysis already made has shown: 40 years of peace + about one year + 10 years + 1 year *i. e.* in all 52 years. In other words it was during the last 11 or 12 years that all the 11 Devāsuras occurred. But the second epoch of Bali's life might have lasted a few years more. If Bali was 30 years old at Amṛtamanthana, he must have been about 42 at Kolāhala, when all the Devāsuras were over. At this time, Prahlāda might have been 75 years old, and he must have died soon after Raji's fight. Bali must have lived in Rasātala and must have regained his kingdom during Sāvarṇi's time.

Finally, we shall see this chronological position from yet another point. I have said that Narsih, who killed H, was Vivasvan's son. Sāvarṇi, in whose days Bali regained his position also was Vivasvan's son. Probably Narsih was the eldest and Sāvarṇi the youngest. The first Devāsura occurred with Narsih and Bali regained in Sāvarṇī's days. This gives only one generation. But putting H at the same step as Vivasvan, we get, from H to Bali, four steps. All this will mean that entire period from H's death to Bali's regaining must have been of about 15 to 20 years.

(4)

What is the part played by Prahlāda and Bali in these Devāsuras?

Four generations or five were involved in these Devāsuras *viz.* Hiraṇyakaśipu, Prahlāda, Virocana, Bali and Bali's son Ariṣṭa who was involved in

[1] Cp. Puranic Chronology by D. R. Mankad.

Tārakāmaya. Out of these, H seems to have harassed the Devas in his late years and therefore Narsih killed him. It is said about H (Mt, 161, 26-27):

त्रैलोक्यं वशमानीय स्वर्गे वसति दानवः ॥ 26
यदा वरमदोत्सिक्तश्चोदितः कालधर्मतः ।
यज्ञियानकरोद्दैत्यानयज्ञियाश्च देवताः ॥ 27

The quarrel that started was due to this. H made Daityas to enjoy yajña, which was the right of Devas. Śukra also told Bali:

यज्ञयागभुजो देवा वेदप्रामाण्यतोऽसुर ।
त्वया तु दानवा दैत्या मखभागभुजः कृताः ॥ Mt 246, 14

Thus the quarrel was about the share in yajña. One is almost tempted to take this as a share in the revenue of the kingdom. Yajna can be taken in this sense. Purāṇas clearly say that these saṅgrāmas were fought for the sake of revenue (dāya):

तेषां दायनिमित्तं वै संग्रामा बह्वोऽभवन् ॥ Mt 47, Vy 97

It is true that Bd reads dvīpa for dāya. But in the whole context, dāya seems to be better.

Any way, H had grown proud and intoxicated and was killed. His grandson Virocana could never reconcile to the Devas. It is said:

विरोचनस्तु प्राह्लादिर्नित्यमिन्द्रवधोद्यतः ।
इन्द्रेणैव स विक्रम्य निहतस्तारकामये ॥ Bd III, 72, 79-80

Virocana thus remained inimical and was ultimately killed. Bali too was inimical to Devas at first. Bali's son Ariṣṭa remained averse and was actually killed in Tārakāmaya. Prahlāda also seems to have come in conflict with the Devas. It is said,

प्रह्लादो निर्जितो युद्धे इन्द्रेणामृतमन्थने ।

Again it is said,

बले राज्याधिकारस्तु यावत्कालं बभूव ह ।
प्रह्लादो निर्जितोऽभूत् तावत्कालं सहासुरैः ॥ Bd III, 72, 45

Bali was tied up soon after the Amṛtamanthana and therefore it is true to say that Prahlāda, who was defeated during Amṛtamanthana, was defeated during Bali's reign-period.

But Prahlāda seems to have realised that it was futile to fight with the Devas and Viṣṇu, and therefore, seems to have made friends with them. It is said,

ततोऽसुरान्परित्यज्य यज्ञो देवानुपागमत् ॥ Bd III, 72, 95

Thus soon after H's death Prahlāda seems to have been subservient to the Devas. For, it is said that when Vāmana came to Bali, Bali, at first, wanted to fight with him, but was dissuaded from doing so by Prahlāda (Mt 245, 16ff).

All the same, Prahlāda remained the king of the Daityas, after Bali went to Rasātala. Every time, he pleaded the cause of the Daityas. Thus he was not faithless to Daityas. It seems to have been a question of policy with him. He considered it wise to make friends with Viṣṇu and Devas and he also advised Bali to do so. Therefore, when Vāmana came to Bali, Bali agreed to be deceived by him knowingly. But whereas Prahlāda remained continually a friend of the Devas, Bali did not. He went away, remained incognito and bided his time and actually regained his position in the days of Sāvarṇi.

An interesting question arises out of these considerations. The character of the Daityas (of one and all) that manifests itself is that of honourable straight, but somewhat simple and trusting people. Devas, on the contrary, come out as dishonourable and deceitful people. Daityas were rash but not dishonest. Narasiṁha, Varāha and Vāmana, all the three seem to have concealed their identity and taken other's forms to deceive the Daityas. When Kāvya went for penance, it was Indra who sent his own daughter to tempt him. Bṛhaspati impersonated as Kāvya and defrauded the Daityas. Viṣṇu killed Bhṛgu's wife, which meant strīvadha. Devas won over Ṣaṇḍa and Marka by offering them yajña, which would mean a share in revenue. Indra went back on his word and deceived Raji by saying that he was his son.

What is the significance of the three steps of Vāmana? It just cannot be that he asked for three stepfuls of land. What I feel is this:

Puranic geography talks of Triloka (Svarga, Pṛthvī and Pātāla or Bhuḥ, Bhuvaḥ and Svaḥ), Saptaloka or Caturdaśa loka. It is usually taken that seven worlds were in the upper regions and seven in the lower regions. The topography suggested by this is that of a mountainous region. From a central point in this mountainous region, there will be seven steps upwards and seven steps downwards on the slopes. Out of these, probably the central one and one above and one below were taken as Triloka. It is significant that Hiraṇyakaśipu and Bali are called to have ruled for ten yugākhyās over Trailokya (Bd III, 72). And the quarrel between the Devas and Asuras seems to be about the possession of these three lokas, which would include Svarga also.

I, therefore, feel that what Vāmana did was to have asked from Bali for these three lokas, which were one below the other and may therefore be called three steps (krama). Therefore, we may take it that Bali, true to his promise, gave away the three stepped regions to Vāmana and himself retired to lower steps *i.e.* Rasātala.

I have a feeling that these regions were situated in Western Himalayas. Of course, all this is hypothetical, but I am putting it here for whatever worth it is.

Talking of geography, I would like to point out that Tāraka is said to have

practised penance on the Pāriyātra (= Satpura) and Andhaka is placed in Avanti regions.

(6)

I shall, now, consider some questions of a miscellaneous character.

(1) It is said in Mt (163, 94) that Narasiṁha was helped by Oṁkāra (ॐकार). The significance of this is not clear to me and I merely draw attention to this point.

(2) Regarding the episode of Raji, Padma Purāṇa and Mt have a statement that Bṛhaspati resorted to (samāsthāya) Jinadharma in order to defeat the sons of Raji. This is a significant statement. It means that Jain religion had already started in the days of Raji. I think this is possible. Ṛṣabha, the traditional first tīrthaṅkara of Jainism can well be put as early as Raji. In the Purāṇas Ṛṣabha occurs under Svāyambhuva Dynasty thus:—Svāyambhuva—Priyavrata—Agnīdhra—Nābhi—Ṛṣabha. This means that Ṛṣabha is fifth from Svāyambhuva. Raji's descent is given thus: Soma—Budha—Purūravā—Āyu—Raji. Thus Raji was fitfh from Soma and taking Soma to be somewhat later than Svāyambhuva, as is clear from all the Purāṇas, we see that Ṛṣabha was earlier than Raji and therefore it is not unlikely if Jainism had already started before Raji.

Moreover, association of Bṛhaspati with Jainism is also significant. There is a tradition that Bṛhaspati had preached tenets which resemble Lokāyata tenets. If it is true, it would mean that Bṛhaspati had taught such tenets, not because he believed in them, but because he desired to deceive and lead the sons of Raji to a religion which was Vedabāhya. The point deserves further investigation.

(3) I shall quote below some significant verses from Ag 276 and discuss them.

तारकामयसंग्रामे तदा देवाश्च पालिताः ।
निवार्येन्द्रं गुरून्देवान्दानवान्सोमवंशकृत् ॥ 17
विश्वामित्रवसिष्ठात्रिकवयश्च रणे सुरान् ।
अपालयंस्ते निवार्य रागद्वेषादिदानवान् ॥ 18
पृथ्वीरथे ब्रह्मयन्तुरीशस्य शरणो हरिः ।
ददाह त्रिपुरं देवपालको दैत्यमर्दनः ॥ 19
गौरीं जिहीर्षुणा रुद्रमन्धकेनार्दितं हरिः ।
अनुरक्तश्च रेवत्यां चक्रे चान्धासुरार्दनम् ॥ 20
शाल्वादीन्दानवाञ्जित्वा हरिः परशुरामकः ।
अपालयन्सुरादींश्च दुष्टक्षत्रं नियत्यया ॥ 21

(a) In the 17th verse, there is a talk of one Somavaṁśakṛt. Who is he? It is with reference to Tārakāmaya. The text is not clear. Considering the form 'pālitāḥ', it should be Somavaṁśakṛtā and not Somavaṁśakṛt. Again why did he ward off Indra, Gurus and Devas along with the Dānavas? Who is

the starter of Soma family, except Soma himself ? Atri is, at one place, called to be the starter of Soma family (Vy, 9th, 67-70).

(b) Verse 18 says that Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Atri and Kavi had subdued Rāga, Dveṣa, etc. The talk of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra being involved in Devāsura, brings the event down to Rāma's time, though this statement of Ag does not seem sobre.

(c) In the 19th verse, Hari is said to have burnt Tripura. Is this a misreading for Hara ? Hara is known widely as the burner of Tripura.

Another point to be noted in this connection is that Tripura is sometimes taken as an Asura and here in these Puranic passages, it is taken as a city with three puras.

(d) In other sources noted by us earlier, Andhaka is described as having been killed by Rudra or Śiva, but here in verse No. 20, it is said that Hari killed Andhaka, who was afflicting Rudra, by desiring to carry away Gaurī. Grammatically, the verse is faulty. Hari is described here as attached to Revatī and as such a Balarāma may be intended. Balarāma is taken as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. But there seems to be some confusion here.

Along with this, we should relate the incident that is given in Mt 179, according to which, when Rudra was too much afflicted by Andhaka, he created mother-goddesses (mātaraḥ), who started drinking Andhaka's blood, but he grew still. Then Viṣṇu, to help Rudra, is said to have created Śuṣkarevatī

या पपौ सकलं तेषामन्धकानामसृक्क्षणात्.

This explains that Rudra won through the help of Viṣṇu. But then the author of Ag seems to have confounded between Revatī and Śuṣkarevatī. Again Mt says that Śuṣkarevatī drank off the blood of Andhakas (Andhakānām). This does not refer to Andhaka Asura, but to Andhakas. Along with the Yādavas, Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis are mentioned in the Purāṇas, which may connect them with Balarāma. This point also needs further investigation.

(e) Verse 23 says that Hari called Paraśurāmaka protected Suras by conquering Dānavas like Śālva and others. To which Devāsura does this refer? Who is this Śālva ? Is he the same as Sālva of Mahābhārata ?

(7)

All these considerations show that these Devāsuras were the earliest conflicts of our Puranic history and that these conflicts were between cousin-brothers. Whether Aditi, Diti, Danu, Vinatā, Kadru, Surabhi and others were sisters by one father or not cannot be ascertained at present, though the Purāṇas are unanimous on this point. But the tradition of their being sisters and wives of the same husband (Kaśyapa) can show at least this much that Ādityas, Daityas, Dānavas, Nāgas and others, if not cousin-brothers, were, at one time, closely related and were friendly to one another.

At any rate, these are almost the beginnings of our Puranic history, being connected with the period of Manu Vaivasvata's life-time.

HINDUISM AND THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

A Fresh Approach

By

R. N. DANDEKAR, Poona

A proper appreciation of the essential distinction between Vedism (which is more popularly known as Brahmanism) on the one hand and Hinduism on the other would ensure the right perspective in the study of ancient Indian religious thought. Broadly speaking, the Brahmanic thought, which was, in a sense, an exotic on the Indian soil, may be said to have developed—both in logical as well as chronological sequence—from the stage of the cosmic-heroic mythology and magic of the Vedic *Saṁhitās*, through the stage of the mechanical sacerdotalism of the *Brāhmaṇas*, to the stage of the monistic idealism of the *Upaniṣads*. Paradoxically enough, this last stage, which, indeed, represented the very acme of Vedic speculations, also proved to be, from a certain point of view, the harbinger of the decline of Vedism as such. On account of some of their peculiar characteristics, the Upaniṣadic teachings, which were the result of the way of thought of the few, could not possibly become translated into the way of life of the many. This state of things gave rise to three main tendencies, each tendency representing, in its own way, a significant turning point in the cultural history of ancient India. Firstly, systems of thought, like Buddhism and Jainism, which are generally regarded as heterodox because they do not accept the ultimate validity of the Veda but which can be actually traced back to an indigenous Indian origin in the form of a common pre-Vedic thought-complex, were quick in taking advantage of the atmosphere of free thinking created by the *Upaniṣads* and of the religious vacuum which had been engendered at that time. They carried their appeal to the masses with great vigour, and ultimately succeeded, to a large extent, in winning them over. This resulted in the rapid growth of those heterodox religions—particularly Buddhism—and the corresponding decline of Brahmanism. But Brahmanism, which had such a glorious past, could by no means be expected to become altogether extinct under the pressure —howsoever strong—of the non-Brahmanic movements. On the contrary, by way of a reaction against the growing popularity of the non-Brahmanic thought, it made a last bid for regaining its lost prestige. This was the second tendency, and it found its literary expression in the Vedic *Sūtras* and the other ancillary Vedic literature called *Vedāṅgas*. The third tendency steered a course intermediate between the anti-Brahmanism of the heterodox religions on the one hand and the revivalism of the promoters of the *Sūtra-Vedāṅga* movement on the other.

Even from very early times, there had existed in India, side by side with the hieratic Vedic religion, several popular tribal religions. The gods and goddesses of these tribal people were different from the divinities of the official Vedic pantheon. Their religious practices also differed fundamentally from the religious practices of the Vedic Aryans. Indeed, these tribal religions were definitely non-Vedic in provenance and character. It is even possible to discover their beginnings in the ideology of the pre-Vedic non-Aryan indigenous population of India. From this point of view at least, they were more akin to the heterodox systems of thought referred to above. But there was one point of essential difference between these two. These popular tribal religions soon came under the spell of Vedism. And, though they did not actually adopt the religious ideology and practices of Vedism in any appreciable measure, they followed the very practical and realistic course of avowing allegiance to the Veda—howsoever nominal and superficial that allegiance might have proved to be in actuality. Naturally enough, while Brahmanism had been in ascendancy, the sphere of influence of these popular religions was restricted to the respective tribes among whom they had originated. They could not have then emerged as quite the forces to reckon with. But the decline of Brahmanism afforded them an opportunity to assert themselves. It would, indeed, seem that the rear-guards of Brahmanism had themselves encouraged these popular religions to a certain extent. For, they must have soon realised that the challenge of the heterodox movements could not be effectively met by mere revivalist efforts. A common popular front was required to be presented against them. Consequently, most of the popular religions, with their variety of gods and religious practices, came to be organised into one single but multi-charactered whole, which was held together by means of the thin thread of their allegiance to the Veda. This is the genesis of Hinduism. Hinduism, in its origin, was verily a parliament of religions, over which the Veda formally presided but whose normal functioning, like any other presiding authority in modern parliamentary systems, it does not seem to have noticeably influenced. It may be pointed out that the third tendency, mentioned above, manifested itself in the form of Hinduism, which, while effectively arresting the growth of anti-Brahmanic thought, successfully combated the insularity and exclusiveness of Brahmanism by bringing together under its banner large masses of people and, att he same time, kept the Vedic tradition alive.

One very significant constituent of this all-inclusive Hinduism was Kṛṣṇaism. This religion seems to have originated and spread among the tribes of Western and Central India, like the Vṛṣṇis, the Sātvatas, the Ābhīras, and the Yādavas. Its principal teacher was Kṛṣṇa who is seen to have been associated with the above-mentioned tribes in one way or another. He was presumably the temporal head as well as the spiritual leader of those tribes,

and was, in course of time, transformed into a tribal god. That this tribal god and the religious movement inspired by him were originally not countenanced by the hieratic Vedic religion is indicated by the episode of the Govardhana mountain (*Harivaṁśa* 72-73), which portrays the chief Vedic God Indra's antagonism to and subsequent subjugation by Kṛṣṇa. This is clearly symbolical of the popular tribal religion having prevailed over the hieratic Brahmanic religion. But the religion of Kṛṣṇa may generally be said to be typifying the paradoxical characteristic of Hinduism, mentioned above, namely, a fundamental departure from Brahmanism so far as its basic tenets are concerned coupled with a deliberate non-abjuration of loyalty to the Veda.

The *Bhagavadgītā*, which is by far the most well-known religio-philosophical text in Sanskrit, may be looked upon as an authoritative manual of Kṛṣṇaite religion, philosophy, and ethics. When, in the course of the growth of the *Mahābhārata*, the bardic historical poem, *Jaya*, was being transformed into the primary epic, *Bhārata*, two principal processes had been in operation, namely, the bardic enlargement of the original ballad-cycle relating to the Kuru-Bhāratas and the Kṛṣṇaite redaction of the bardic material. Presumably the *Bhagavadgītā* served as the corner-stone of this Kṛṣṇaite superstructure. It has, however, to be remembered that, though the *Bhagavadgītā* originally epitomised the teachings of Kṛṣṇa, after it had been included into the epic, it also was subjected to the final process of Brahmanic revision like the rest of the epic.

The religion of Kṛṣṇa differed from the Vedic ideology, firstly, in its teaching about the goal of human life. The *Upaniṣads*, which give the most consummate expression to the Vedic thought in this connection, have generally put forth the view that, since this phenomenal world and the human existence, so far as this latter is governed by the body-mind-complex, are fundamentally unreal, man must renounce this worldly life and aim at realising the essential identity of his soul with the Universal Self, which is the one and the only absolute reality. It will be thus seen that the Upaniṣadic attitude is essentially individualistic and, to a large extent, negative. The *Bhagavadgītā*, on the other hand, teaches that man's chief duty is the promotion of *lokasaṁgraha*, that is to say, of the stability, solidarity, and progress of the society. The society can function properly only on the principle of the ethical interdependence of its various constituents. Man must, therefore, see to it that, as an essential constituent of society, he furthers this process of *lokasaṁgraha* through an active awareness of his social obligations. The *Bhagavadgītā* has thus invested its teaching with positive social values. The *svadharma* or specific social obligations of different types of men are, according to the *Bhagavadgītā*, best embodied in the doctrine of *cāturvarṇya* or the scheme of four social orders. Though the adoption of this doctrine by the *Bhagavadgītā* may have been due, to a certain extent, to the

Brahmanic influence, the way in which it has sponsored it is peculiarly its own. Unlike the Brahmanic texts, the *Bhagavadgītā* never refers to the superiority of one social order to another. It consistently emphasizes only the socio-ethical significance of that scheme. All social orders are equal and essential from the socio-ethical point of view. It would, indeed, seem that the insistence of the *Bhagavadgītā* was mainly on man's active recognition of his *svadharma* or social obligations, the *cāturvarṇya* being referred to—almost by way of an example—as a scheme, which, in the context of certain specific circumstances, best ensured the recognition by men of their respective *svadharmas*.

The second fundamental point in which the *Bhagavadgītā* differs from the Vedic thought follows logically from the first. As indicated above, the Upaniṣadic ideal of spiritual emancipation through self-realisation presupposes the acceptance of the unreal character of the phenomenal world. Through his actions, man gets entangled, consciously or unconsciously, in the tantalizing affairs of this fictitious world and is thus removed farther and farther away from his goal. A complete abnegation of action, therefore, came to be regarded almost as a *sine qua non* of a true seeker's spiritual quest. On the other hand, the ideal of *lokasaṁgraha* through the fulfilment of *svadharma*, enjoined by the *Bhagavadgītā*, necessarily implies an active way of life. The *Bhagavadgītā*, indeed, often speaks in terms of *yoga* (from the root *yuj* = to apply oneself to) rather than of *mokṣa* (from the root *mokṣ* = to untie or to loose). The teacher of the *Bhagavadgītā* has discussed, at great length, the why and the how of this *karmayoga*. Verily, that is the main theme of the poem. The activism which the *Bhagavadgītā* seeks to inculcate is, however, not of the common type. It is certainly unique in that it is tinged—perhaps, under the influence of the Upaniṣadic thought—with some element of renunciation. The *Bhagavadgītā* attempts to reconcile its ideal of *lokasaṁgraha* or social solidarity and progress with the Upaniṣadic ideal of *mokṣa* or spiritual emancipation of an individual. It argues that action, as such, does not prove detrimental to one's attainment of his spiritual goal. It is his attachment to the fruits of his actions that keeps him eternally involved in the cycle of births and deaths. The *Bhagavadgītā*, therefore, teaches its Yoga or skilful art of " how to act without being involved in the consequences of action. " It teaches the *anāsakti-yoga*, that is, renunciation *in* action and not *of* action.

The activism (*karmayoga*) of the *Bhagavadgītā* must by no means be confused with the way of work (*karmakāṇḍa*) of the ritualistic texts. If the way of renunciation, taught by the *Upaniṣads*, was inconsistent with the ideal of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the way of work taught by the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras*, which was actually constituted of ritualistic practices and as a reaction against which the Upaniṣadic doctrine of renunciation had evolved, was more so. The elabo-

rate and the highly complex system of sacrifice could never have become the religion of the people. Kṛṣṇa, therefore, sponsored a way of spiritual life in which everybody—irrespective of caste, creed, and sex—could participate. It was the way of *bhakti* or devotion. The way of *bhakti* presupposes the recognition of a personal god—in the present context, of course, Kṛṣṇa himself—who is regarded as being responsible for the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe. The devotee serves that God like a loyal servant, always craving for some kind of personal communion with Him. The criterion of true worship, according to the doctrine of *bhakti*, is not the richness or profuseness of the materials used for worship nor the number and variety of religious observances involved in it. It is rather the urge and the earnestness, the faith and the sense of complete surrender to the Divine, on the part of the devotee. Such a *bhakta* —whatever his age, sex, learning, or social status—indeed, compels God to become his friend, guide, and philosopher. The way of *bhakti* is thus more simple, more direct, and more effective than any other religious practice. And the cultural history of India bears ample testimony to the fact that the cult of *bhakti* has proved to be the only force, which could unite large and heterogeneous masses of people into one truly democratic religious brotherhood. In his teaching of *bhakti*, however, Kṛṣṇa has made one significant addition. He has insisted that a true *karmayogin*, that is, one who adopts the activism as taught by the *Bhagavadgītā*, alone can become a true *bhakta*, for, by following his *svadharma*, the *karmayogin* is only promoting the will of God and is participating in the divine project.

It has already been pointed out that the *Bhagavadgītā* could not altogether give up the Upaniṣadic ideal of *mokṣa*. It could not also altogether evade the ritualism of the *Brāhmaṇas*. While, therefore, coordinating it with its own thought-pattern, the *Bhagavadgītā* stressed the spirit of the sacrificial ritual rather than its form. It seems to have been suggested that, just as *lokasaṁgraha* implies the ethical interdependence in the social sphere, sacrifice implies the ethical interdependence in the cosmic sphere.

Kṛṣṇaism cannot boast of any independent philosophical system of its own. As a shrewd leader of the people, Kṛṣṇa had realised that what the people wanted was not so much an abstract, metaphysical way of thought as a concrete, practical way of life. He, therefore, gave them a religion and a code of conduct. The different schools of philosophy, which were then prevailing, tended, on the one hand, to confound the people at large and, on the other, to encourage dogmatism among their respective followers. And dogmatism—whether religious or philosophical—often divides rather than unite. The *Bhagavadgītā*, therefore, instead of dilating upon the points of difference among the various systems of thought and practice, emphasised the points of agreement among them and

thereby brought about a positive philosophical and religious synthesis. As a matter of fact, synthesis is the very watchword of Hinduism.

It has been already suggested that, at one stage, like the other parts of the *Mahâbhārata*, the *Bhagavadgītā* also must have undergone a kind of Brahmanic reorientation—howsoever artificial and superficial that reorientation might have been. This is, indeed, true of Hinduism as a whole. One of the more significant results of this reorientation, so far as the personality of Kṛṣṇa was concerned, was that that tribal god, who was essentially non-Vedic in origin and whose character had already become syncretic, came to be regarded as an *avatāra* (incarnation) of the All-god and also as being identical with the Upaniṣadic *brahman*.

SAMĀNÁṂ CIDRÁTHAMĀ' TASTHIVĀ'ṂSĀ

By

GEORGE CARDONA, Philadelphia

This phrase occurs in pāda *c* of Ṛgveda 2.12.8 : *yáṃ krándasī saṃyatī' vihváyete páré' vara 'ubháyā amítrāḥ/ samānáṃ cidráthamā' tasthivā'ṃsā nā'nā havete sá janāsa índraḥ.* The verse was discussed by Thieme, *Untersuchungen* 52, with special emphasis on *nā'nā*, which he translates 'jeder Mann für sich'[1]. Thieme, and also Geldner, *Der Rigveda*...ad 2.12.8, interpret pāda *c* as referring to the warrior and his charioteer mounted on the same chariot. Recently, Tedesco, JAOS 80.360 (1960), has suggested interpretation, which I think is preferrable. Tedesco suggests that the two men referred to are opposed warriors. He goes on to say that the phrase *samānáṃ cidrátham* means not 'the same chariot' but 'the same kind of chariot': '"having mounted the same kind of chariot, two call him, *one man here, one man there*,"[2] *i.e.*, "from different sides" —two foes, I think, from different sides of the battle-line.'

Although I agree with Tedesco's identification of the two men mentioned in 2.12.8c, I do not think his translation of *nā'nā* and his consequent interpretation of *samānáṃ cidráthamā' tasthivā'ṃsā* do justice to the verse. Tedesco translated etymologically 'one man here, one man there' and concludes that *nā'nā* expresses the spatial separation of the two men.[3] However, in all stages of Sanskrit *nā'na* regularly means merely 'separate (ly)' or 'different (ly)', whether used adverbially or in composition, and this is the usage sanctioned by Pāṇini, 5.2.27 : *vinañbhyāṃ nānāñau nasaha.*[4] *Nā'nā* thus belongs to the same semantic group as words like *pṛ'thak* and *bhinná-*,[5] which express simply

[1] Thieme derives *nā'nā* from the noun *nṛ*.

[2] Italics mine.

[3] As I shall show below, I think the meaning in 2.12.8c is quite the opposite.

[4] In composition, *nā'nārtha-* means 'having different aims' or having different meanings'. Cf., for example, Kāṭhop. 1.2.1 : *anyacchreyo'nyadutaiva preyaste ubhe nānàrthe puruṣaṃ sinītaḥ*; and Värtt. 22 on Pāṇ. 1.2.64 : *nānārthānāmapi sarūpāṇām.*

[5] Sāyaṇa glosses *nā'nā* in 2.12.8c with *pṛthak*. Some examples from technical usage show clearly the closeness of *nā'nā*, *pṛ'thak* and *bhinná-*. The Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 5.2.27 *nasaha* has *asahārthe pṛthagbhāve*; cf. the Pradīpa to Mahābhāshya ad Pāṇ. 5.2.27: *loke ca nānāśabdasya pṛthagbhāvabhidhāyitvāt.* The Kāśikā on Pāṇ. 1.2.64 has *bhinne' pyarthe* corresponding to *nānārthānām* of the Vārttika

'separate' or 'different', the specification of spatial or qualitative separation being supplied by the context or the words with which they are compounded. In the Ṛgveda too this is the regular usage of *nā'nā*, as Thieme illustrated with abundant examples (op. cit. 53). Although Thieme's etymology is certainly the best proposed thusfar, I do not see any compelling reason for introducing an etymological translation of *nā'nā* where the general meaning, sanctioned by usage and well attested in the Ṛgveda, is acceptable, as I think is the case in 2.12.8c. Since Tedesco's etymological translation leads him to interpret 'from different sides', he is also forced to interpret *samānáṃ cidráthaṃ* as 'the same kind of chariot', since two men on opposite sides of the battle-line could not be mounted on the same chariot.

This in turn obscures an aspect of the verse which other translators have brought out and which cannot be overlooked; there is a clear antithesis between *samānáṃ cidráthamā' tasthivā'ṃsā* and *nā'nā havete.*[6] The literal translation of 2.12.8c, then, should be, 'though mounted on the same chariot, to call (on Indra) separately (differently)'. The specific connotation of *nā'nā* is supplied by a comparison with 8.5.12ab : *yádindra manmaśásivā nā'nā hávante ūtáye*; they call on Indra for aid, each expressing the desire in his own mind. In 2.12.8c, then *nā'nā* does not express spatial separation.

If the two men calling on Indra are not a warrior and his charioteer but opposed warriors, however, we must seek to understand a point which has thusfar not attracted the attention of Vedic interpreters, namely, what the poet expsessed by the phrase *samānáṃ cidráthamā' tasthivā'ṃsā.*

In battle Indra is called upon by both the vanquished and the victorious; 1.101.6b : *yó dhā'vadbhir hūyáte yáśca jigyúbhiḥ.* When two armies meet, they call separately (*ví*, see note 6, above) on Indra for the same prizes of sons, cows, water, and fertile fields; 6.25.4cd: *toké vā góṣu tánaye yádapsú ví krándasī urvárāsu brávaite.*[7] For Indra is *the one* to whom all peoples call; 6.22.1a : *yá éke iddháv-yaścarṣaṇīnā́m.* Without him victory is impossible; 2.12.9ab : *yásmānná ṛté vijāyante jánāso yáṃ yúdhyamānā ávase hávante.*

The prizes are of course won in alliance with Indra. But there is one special way of effecting this alliance : the warriors' chariot is identified with

(note 4, above). Cf. also the parallel formulations: *jīvātmā pratiśarīram bhinno* ...(Tarka-saṃgraha 17, ed. Athalye-Bodas) and *jīvasākṣī pratyātmaṃ nānā* (Vedāntā-paribhāṣā 1.69, ed. S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa).

[6] Harmonizing with *vihváyete* of pāda *a*. As the two warriors call separately (*nā'nā*) so do their armies. The force of *ví* is clarified by a comparision with *vivāc-* in verses such as 6.33.2ab : *tvā'ṃ hī̃ndrā'vase vivāco hávante carṣaṇáyaḥ*.....

[7] Cf. 6.31.1cd: *ví toké apsú tánaye ca sū'ré'vocanta carṣaṇáya vívācaḥ.*

Indra's chariot of victory. Thus in 1.102.3, Indra is call upon to help the warriors' chariot to conquest, and the chariot is ' the one in which we may rejoice as being your victorious (chariot) ' : *táṃ sma ráthaṃ maghavan prā'va sātáye jaítram yáṃ te anumádāma saṃgamé.* The chariot of victory (*jaítram*) is Indra's; 10.103.5d : *jaítramindra ráthamā' tiṣṭha govít*; see Geldner ad 1.102.3. Once the identification is made, Indra mounts the warriors' chariot as his own and victory is assured through alliance with him. Though others also call on him, victory is theirs whose chariot Indra mounts. The thought is clearly expressed in 1.102.4-5 : 4a : *vayáṃ jayema tváyā yujā'...* ; 5a-c : *nā'nā hí tvā hávamānā jánā imé dhánānāṃ dhartarávasā vipanyávaḥ/ asmā'kaṃ sma ráthamā' tiṣṭha sātáye.*

Samānáṃ cidráthamā' tasthivā'ṃsā expresses, then, the act of seeking Indra's alliance for victory. Though the two warriors call separately, each expressing his own desire for alliance with Indra, they mount the same chariot, the chariot which Indra is to call his and mount as his own, thus guaranteeing victory. The phrase *samānáṃ cidráthamā' tasthivā'ṃsā* expresses, in other words, what the warriors do to become *sarátham* with Indra.[8] In 1.102.4b, the warriors who ask Indra to mount their chariot ask him to make their way wide and easy to traverse : *asmábhyamindra várivaḥ sugáṃ kṛdhi.* This is what Indra did for Kutsa, with whom he was *sarátham* ; 6.20.5cd : *urú ṣá sarátham sā'rathaye kar índrah kútsāya.* Grammatically also *samānáṃ ratham* belongs together with *sarátham*, the latter expressing compositionally the phrase *samāno ratha eṣām.*[9]

[8] On compositional *sa-* equivalent to *samāná-* and on compounds with first element *samāná-* having the same meaning, see Wackernagel-Debrunner II. 1.74.

[9] Just as *sarūpa* is the compositional equivalent of *samānaṃ rūpameṣām*, the analysis given by the scholiasts for Pāṇ. 1.2.64 *sarūpāṇām.*

A UNIQUE INDIAN BRONZE FROM SOUTH ARABIA

By

H. Goetz, Heidelberg

In 1953 the American archaeological expedition to South Arabia, organized by Mr. Wendell Phillips and led by Prof. Frank Albright of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, discovered an Indian bronze at Khor Rori, 45 km. east of Salala in the province of Dhofar of Hadramaut. On the basis of epigraphical finds Khor Rori has been identified with the ancient Sumhuram which seems to have been identical with the ancient port of Moscha mentioned in the Periplus Maris Erythraei, or at least in its close vicinity. The town had been a flourishing centre of the spice and frankincense trade in the 1st century B.C. and the three first centuries of the Christian era, but then rapidly declined and was completely deserted not later than the 5th century.

The Indian bronze was found in the debris of one of the houses along the eastern town wall. It is the statuette (8, 9 cm high) of a girl in tribhaṅga posture, the bent left leg pushed behind the straight right one, her left arm raised, the right one bent elbow downward. She wears a triple necklace of beads, a triple mekhalā and a scarf hanging down her right hip. Head, feet, the left arm and the right hand unfortunately are lost. On top of the shoulders two metal pieces can be seen whose purpose is not clear.

Nevertheless the iconographic type of the bronze can easily be identified as it is very common in the mediaeval bronzes and sculptures of Gujarat, in three slight variations: Dīpalakṣmīs, Cāmaradhāriṇīs and Śālabhañjikās. Of these the first may probably be eliminated, as dīpalakṣmīs seem to have come in fashion only rather late under South Indian influence. As bronzes of cāmaradhāriṇīs were placed by the side of a cult image, our figure might have been a such one; but against such an interpretation the raised proper left arm and the two metal pieces on the shoulders might stand. For these would be suitable for a Śālabhañjikā figure bending down, with both arms, the branch of a Śāla tree the leaves of which would touch her shoulders. Such a figure might be part of a toraṇa, such as we know best around the stūpa of Sāñcī. But in case the bronze might have been a separate piece, it is well possible that it had been a combination of Śālabhañjikā and Cāmaradhāriṇī.

On the first impression one might be inclined to date our bronze into the late 11th century; so much it resembles, stylistically, figures amongst the sculptures of Modherā and other Solaṅkī monuments. However, such a late date is excluded by the characteristic costume, the triple necklace and the sash

falling down over her right hip. For, this fashion had been characteristic for the first half millennium of the Christian era.

The problem is to fix the exact period in which the same posture, similar body proportions and a similar rhythm of the posture had been the fashion. The earliest and best known statue in exactly the same posture is the Vṛkshakā of the Sānchī Torana. In most of the sculptures of Mathurā the bent leg is placed in front of the straight one. However, there are some exceptions, *e.g.* the devatās flanking a stūpa on two reliefs from Jamālpur and Mahol (J. Ph. Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathurâ, Paris 1930, pls. 5b and 6a; L. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, 1929, II, pl. 91), further the ladies on some Begrâm ivory plaques (J. & J. R. Hackin, Recherches Archéologiques á Bégram, Paris 1939, fig. 221; J. Hackin, Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques a Bégram, Paris 1954, fig. 66). With other words, the iconographic type was already fully developed since the first century A.C. On the other hand, the very slim and smooth body is characteristic for a somewhat latter period. The Sāñcī and most of the Mathurā sculptures are heavier, likewise the donor statues at Kanheri and Kārlē. Only a few of the Bhūteśar Yakṣīs have the same proportions but still broader hips and heavier breasts. Perhaps the ladies on the door jambs with harem scenes from Mathurā (Bachhofer, II, pl. 95) come nearest to the body type of our bronze. On the other hand, we find the same type very common in Amarāvatī and even at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Finally, on the early Gupta sculptures (4th century, early 5th century in provincial art) it is already degenerated to unhealthy proportions (*e.g.* the dancing scene on the back of the Trivikrama relief from Pāwāya, Gwalior Museum, the Garhwā stelas, entrance of cave 3 at Udayagiri near Bhīlsa). The same might be said of the posture of our bronze. The sculptures of the 2nd century are not so lithe, those at Amarāvatī of rather the same grace, the early Gupta pieces already beyond it. Thus the early 3rd century might probably be the time when our bronze had been cast.

This is also corroborated by the necklace which recurs, in exactly or almost the same shape, on some of the Bhūteśar yakṣīs, on a Nāginī from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, Mathurā (Vogel, pl. 21a), a Bhītā relief (A.R., A.S.I. for 1911-12, pl. 31, 8; Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, fig. 13), at Jaggayyapeṭa, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, whereas in the Gupta Period it had already been out of fashion.

Thus we can regard it as certain that our bronze statuette came to Sumhuram just at the time when, before the crisis of the Roman Empire in the second and third quarters of the 3rd century, the trade between Alexandria, South Arabia and India had been on its zenith. How and from where exactly it was imported, these questions still remain to be answered. As the bronze

Bronze dancing girl found at Khor Ruri, Dhofar Province, Sultanate of Muscat and Oman

Courtesy of the American Foundation for the Study of Man

Back of bronze dancing girl from Khor Ruri

was found in the ruins of a private house, under circumstances which let it appear probable that it had originally been kept in one of the upper storeys, it cannot have belonged to the inventory of a temple or even of a chapel open to the public, but had been the private property of some rich Indian merchant, probably part of a house shrine, and having been damaged by some accident, was left behind when the flat was vacated. This merchant probably was a member of the Jaina or the Buddhist communities who represented the overwhelming majority of maritime traders. That the bronze might have come from Āndhradeśa, then the centre of the declining Śātavāhana empire, or from Mathurā, is, in the light of our present knowledge, not impossible, but neither very probable. Rather we should look for the Indian westcoast as the country of its origin, Saurāshtra or Gujarāt, or Kalyāna near Bombay. As the latter may likewise be eliminated because of the political situation there, Gujarāt and Saurāshtra in the time of the Kṣatrapas Bhartṛdāman and Viśvasena would have to be considered in the first place.

The Śālabhañjikā-Cāmaradhāriṇī from Khor Rori, therefore, would be not only a rare early Indian bronze but also an example of later Kṣatrapa art of which we still know very little. And it would be the first representative of a class of cult bronzes later on so much in fashion just in this part of India.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DATA IN SOME COLOPHONS OF JAIN WORKS

By

PRIYABALA SHAH, Ahmedabad

The word colophon means the tail piece of a book giving information which is now given on the title page. This English word is more or less equivalent to the Sanskrit word Puṣpikā, which has been explained by Apte as 'The last words of a chapter, which state the subject treated therein'. Some books in Sanskrit have another type of ending known as Praśasti. The word praśasti may be translated by eulogy or panegyric. When it comes at the end of works, it is either the eulogy of the author or of the patron or of the scribe. Old manuscripts in India have both these types of endings. Most of the mss. have only Puṣpikās giving the name of the work, chapter, author, sometimes the date of composition or copying, sometimes the place where they were written. In addition to these some mss. at the end give short or long eulogies or panegyrics or small poems written in praise of any one (*e.g.* a patron). These are the Praśastis. These puṣpikās and praśastis are very important for chronological, geographical, historical and cultural information about Gujarat and India in General.

Jain mss. of Gujarat are important sources of such puṣpikās and praśastis. Acharya Shri Jinavijayaji has collected a number of puṣpikās and praśastis varying in time from Vikram Saṃvat 1109 to 1635 in his work called Jainapustakapraśastisaṃgraha (published in Siṅghi granthamala Saṃvat 1999 A.D. 1943).

Let us take one or two examples of Puṣpikās or small praśastis.

बभूव लक्ष्मणः श्राद्धः सपुना तस्य गेहिनी ।
सिंहनामा तयोः पुत्रो रांभूनाम्नी च पुत्रिका ॥ १
सिंहसूनुर्यशोदेवः संतुकाकुक्षिभूः स च ।
पुस्तिकां जीतकल्पस्य श्रेयसेऽलिखत् पितुः ॥ २ (पृ. १६)

From this Puṣpikā we learn that there was a faithful jain called Lakṣmaṇa. His wife's name was Sapunā. They had a son named Siṃha and a daughter named Rāmbhū. Siṃha had a wife called Santu. They had a son by name Yaśodeva. Yaśodeva, for the religious merit of his father prepared or got prepared a copy oi the work called Jītakalpa (Jain Āgama).

From this small praśasti we gather the names of the scribe or probably a patron and his wife, parents, grand parents and aunt. In this praśasti we get

the names of five persons but we do not get the date or place of the scribe where it was written.

In another praśasti (P. 96), we get

पल्लीवालकुलोत्तंसपेसलो वीसलोऽजनि ।
राजीमतीसुता तस्य जयश्रीरिति गेहिनी ।। १
तयोः सुताऽभवद्देवगुरुपादांबुजालिनी ।
जाऊकेति पवित्रां सा सामाचारीं त्वलीलिखत् ।।
संवत् १२४० चैत्रसुदि १३ सोमे लिखितम् ।।

From this praśasti we gather that Vīsala of Pallīvāla family had a wife called Jayaśrī. She was a daughter of Rājīmatī. Their daughter Jāūkā got a copy made of the work called Sāmācārī. This was written on the 13th bright day of Caitra of Vikram Saṃvat. 1240.

In this praśasti in addition to the names of the patron and his relatives we get the date of copying of the work. But the place, where it must have been written, is not mentioned.

The Praśasti no. 107 (P. 96) consists of three ślokas. It is stated therein that Kulacandra, the son of Āśādhara and Amṛtādevī was loved by all and well-known in the world. His daughter Ambikā was very polite, under the advice of his guru he got prepared a copy of one booklet. So far this praśasti is also, like those mentioned above. This, however, expresses a desire that the book may last for all time.

नंदतु तावद् धरिन्यामेषा भो पुस्तिका महा ।
यावन्निशीथिनीनाथो तथा मार्तंडमंडलम् ।। ३

(As long as the sun and the moon will last in the sky, this booklet will remain on the earth).

But we get no idea from it, about the family or time or place of Kulacandra. It is curious to note that the name of the booklet is also not mentioned.

In praśasti No. 106 (P. 95) we find the mention of the lineage of Pallīvāla. In this lineage a gentleman called Punā had a son Bohittha. Bohittha had a son named Gaṇadeva who was very religious. He got copied the third Khaṇḍa of Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa and gladly donated it in the Jñānabhaṇḍāra of Khambhāta (Stambhatīrtha). In the third verse, (Last Verse) it is said that as long as the Jainism, the well wisher of all the beings is known, this book will be known through study by learned people.

Here also we do not find the date and the place of the scribe. But the place where the book is donated, is known. We can guess that the patron belongs to Cambay. Only the lineage and the names of his father and grandfather are mentioned. The name of the book is also known.

Now let us turn to long praśastis. In small praśastis of two to three ślokas there does not remain much scope for stating more things. But in long praśastis consisting of ten or more ślokas, we do find the detailed information regarding cultural and historical items.

The praśasti No. 5 (P. 7) consists of 37 ślokas, it is composed by Devacandrasūri (the great guru of well-known ācārya Hemachandra). It is written at the end of the Śāntinātha carita. This manuscript was copied by Śreṣṭhi Rāhada of Pāṭaṇa of Prāgvāṭa community. When this was written, the King Kumārapāla who is called ' Suśrāvaka ' was on the throne. Rāhada dedicated this book to the Jain Sūri Paramānandācārya.

The ancestors of Rāhada are introduced in the Praśasti thus:—The name of Prāgvāṭa community is well-known in the world. Its branches are spread everywhere. It is enriched or strengthened by its tradition of religious motives. Rāhada was born in this family. Siddha the chief member of the family of Rāhada hails from Satyapura (modem Sachora of Marwar). He was śreṣṭhi and his name was Siddhanāga. He married Ambinī who bore him four sons—Poḍhaka, Vīraḍa, Vardhana and Droṇaka. They were well-known. They got prepared a beautiful brass image of Śāntinātha bright like gold. It was worshipped in the temple of Śāntinātha at Dadhipadra when this praśasti was composed.

Poḍhaka married Devī, who bore three intelligent sons Ambudatta, Ambuvardhana and Sajjana. Poḍhaka got made two beautiful stone images of Tīrthaṅkaras—Pārśva and Supārśva. These images were installed in the temple of Mahāvīra at Maḍḍāhṛta (modern Maḍhāra near Abu). Two daughters of Poḍhaka turned into nuns (Sādhvī) and got the position of Mahattarā by the name Yaśaḥśrī and Śivādevī.

Sajjana married Mahālacchi who was famous as a donor. All her five sons were handsome, benevolent, and famous. They were named as Dhavala, Vīsala, Deśala, Rāhaḍa and Bahaḍa. Dhavala had two sons Vīracandra and Devacandra by his wife Bhallāṇi. Vīrcandra had sons by name Vijaya, Ajaya, Rāja, Āmba and Sarana. Devacandra had one son called Devarāja. Dhavala had only one daughter named Siri Visala and Desala had no issue. Bāhaḍa, the youngest brother of Rāhaḍa had a wife called Jīnamati and a son Jasaḍuka. Sajjana had two daughters one named Śāntikā (who had a son by name Āsukādi) and another Dhāndhika. Rāhada among all his brothers was handsome, intelligent, respected by all, religious, generous and of good character. He was worshipping Jina according to scriptures. He eulogised sages, attended sermons, offered money (Dāna) to needy, practised penance according to his ability and also observed rules of domestic life. He had a very pious and religious wife, Demati. She was also a good donor and wishing well of her husband. She had

four sons. They were renowned like kings. They were brave, famous and of good character. They were known as Chāhaḍa, Bohaḍī, Āsāḍa and Āśādhara. Rāhaḍa had four daughters-in-law—Aśvadevī, Muṇḍhī, Maḍu-Tejuya, and Rājuka and grandsons Yaśodhara, Yaśodhīra, Yaśaḥkarṇa and grand daughters Gheūya, Jasukā and Jayantukā.

Thus Rāhaḍa had a very rich and big family. But his second son Bohaḍī died in his young age. This calamity made Rāhaḍa very unhappy and sad. He began to think. 'This world with life, youth, body, property, wife and family is just like an unsteady and momentary lightning in the midst of big clouds. So man must do some religious deeds for his own welfare. But those who are sages among men prefer to give the gift of knowledge (Jñānadāna). So I wish to give some jñānadāna.' He, therefore, got Śāntināthacarita copied and got made the beautiful brass image of the same Tīrthaṅkara for worshipping in the house (Gṛha-pūjana).

The book of Śāntinātha is written in beautiful hand with golden ink. It is shining like the Royal Palace. It is an illustrated beautiful manuscript with decorated and bordered leaves. It gives joy to many people. When 'Suśrāvaka' Kumārapāla was reigning in the month of Bhādrapada in Vikram Samvat 1227, this book was copied in Aṇahilapurapāṭaṇa. It was given as a gift to Paramānandasūri, the great disciple of Yaśaḥprabhācārya. As long as the cloud nourishes the earth with water like a mother, this book will be known in the world. This praśasti is written at the end of this book by Paramānandasūri, the pupil of Cakreśvarasūri. At the end occur the auspicious words 'Maṅgalam Mahāśrīḥ.'

In the praśasti the whole family of Rāhaḍa is described with their benevolent or religious deeds. It also gives the era and month and place when and where it was written and also the name of the then ruling king. In this praśasti this is the only reference of historical importance.

Cakravarti Samrāṭ Kumārapāla of Caulukya dynasty of Aṇahilapura is known among the Jains as a great jain king and he in his later life earned the title *Paramārhata by following the ethical code of jainism. In this praśasti we can see that the author had given king Kumārapāla the title 'Suśrāvaka'.

Now let us study another Praśasti No. 3 (p. 4). This praśasti consists of 33 ślokas. It is written at the end of the manuscript of the Bhagvatīsūtravṛtti. It is in a Bhaṇḍāra of Pāṭaṇa. In Vikram saṃvat 1187 when Chaulukya king Siddharāja Jayasiṃha was on the throne in Pāṭaṇa, this ms. was written. It is written by a Śrāvaka named Siddha. Siddha (? Siddhanāga) was of Pragvāṭ

*See page CCLXXXVI Kāvyānuśāsana Vol. II by Prof. R. C. Parikh and the praśasti of Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣa.

family and belonged to Satyapura. He became the inhabitant of Gujarat. He had four sons—Voḍhaka, Vīraḍa, Vaḍuḍa, and Droṇaka. They got prepared many images of Tīrthaṅkara with the money earned by themselves: They were very religious minded.

Vīraḍa and his wife Dhanadevī were strong devotees of Jain Munis, Their son Varadeva was very straight forward, kind and religious minded. He got prepared one beautiful brass image of Mahāvīra and also Samavasaraṇa. For love of knowledge and also for his own liberation, he made some one write the vṛtti of Uttarādhyayanasūtra. In this wav he spent his wealth in different types of religious deeds. His wife was Lakṣmī. She was just like Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu. She was very charming and attractive. The name of her son was Siddha. He was very fortunate, full of good qualities, brave, handsome like Kāmadeva, the god of love. He was devoted to Jain religion. He was of a good moral character. He was respected by all even in court circles. He was strong minded and whatever he decided upon, he did with all his might. He had six sisters—Campuśrī, Amṛtādevī, Jīnamatī, Yaśorājī, Pājūka and Āmba. He was the inhabitant of Dadhipadra yet he was known by the epithet Maḍḍāhadapurīya (*i. e.* belonging to Maḍḍahaḍa) because he was the resident of Maḍḍāhadapura. He had two wives Rājīmati and Śriyādevi. He had sons Viradatta, Āmba, Sarana and daughters by name Vīrikā and Jasahiṇī. His children were of good conduct and were pleasing to all.

When death approached, the father of Siddha wanted to have some provisions for his journey to the other world. He called his son and said to him " Son, I am sure, you will spend money after my death in pilgrimages and other benevolent deeds but my desire is that you should spend money in getting the mss. copied. According to the desire of his father, Siddha ordered the copying of ten books consisting of one lakh ślokas. They are as follows:—

1. सुयगडंगसुत्त, निज्जुत्ती, वित्ती, 2. उवासगदसाइ अंगसुत्त, वित्ती, 3. ओवाइयसुत्त, वित्ती, रायप्पसेणइय सुत्त, 4. कप्पसुत्त, भास, 5. कप्पचुण्णी, 6. दसवेयालियसुत्त, निज्जुत्ती, वित्ती, 7. उवएसमाल, 8. भवभावणा, 9. पंचासगसुत्त, वित्ती and 10. पिंडविसुद्धी-वित्ती (जसदेवसूरि रचित) पढमपंचासग चुन्नी, लघुवीर चरिय, रयणचूडकहा.

Rājīmatī one of the wives of Siddha died suddenly. She told her husband, when on death bed to get two books of Bhagavatisūtra beautifully copied. At the very moment Siddha, in order to satisfy the desire of his wife ordered the copying of two books of Bhagvatisūtra in beautiful hand writings as the prapā (a place where water is distributed to travellers) of the path of liberation. One of which is Bhagavatīsūtra and the other its vṛtti. In Vikram saṃvat 1187 when Jayasimhadeva was the ruler, these books were written in Aṇahilapura pāṭana. They were given for reading and correcting to Sri Cakreśvarācārya who was the student of Sri Vardhamānasūri, who was himself the student of Śalibhadrasūri. As long

as the sun, the moon and the stars staying in the sky remove the darkness of the earth, this will be known through study. At the end it is stated that on the 2nd day of Kārtika in Vikram saṃvat 1187, the ms. of Bhagvatīviśeṣavṛtti was written by Siddhasrāvaka for Srīcakreśvara sūri.

From the contents of the above mentioned praśastis we learn that the chief man of the family of Siddha and Rāhaḍa was Siddhanāga of the Prāgvāt dynasty and was originally the inhabitant of Satyapura (Sacora). Like the minister Udayana (Srīmalī) Siddhanāga might have come from his native place to Gujarat to make money or with some other ambitions. Then he stayed in the prosperous Maddahrta (modern Madhara). After getting the riches and prestige, some of his sons went to Dadhipadra (near Aṇahilpura) and they settled in Pāṭaṇa. From the practice in the praśastis of his sons and grandsons we can see that his family members were rich and flourishing. His children spent some wealth in religious and meritorious acts. They got prepared Jain temples, installed Jina images, took multitudes of people to the visit of holy places and for the spread of learning, they got the books written or copied. From the references given in the praśastis, we gather that his children were very religious minded, very cultured and of good conduct. Two grand daughters of Siddhanāga, out of whom the daughter of his eldest son Vodhaka became Sādhvī and earned the highest title Mahattarā. The sons of Siddhanaga had love for learning and for that reason they paid special attention to the multiplication of sacred books by getting them copied Virāda, during his life-time got copied the book named Uttarādhyayanavṛtti, due to the devotion to knowledge. At the time of his death he also advised his son Siddha to spend more money in the same activity. In order to fulfil the desire of his father Siddha asked the scribe to write the books at least of one lakh ślokas. The wife of Siddha also desired to encourage the copying of books at the time of her death and her husband fulfilled her desire by getting Bhagavatīsūtra written and then dedidated to his religious teacher for his own study.

From these two preceding praśastis we can see that important material about social, religious and historical aspects of ancient life lies hidden in the form of praśastis. From these references we learn that during the reign of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla in Pāṭaṇa, there were many wealthy, religious srāvaka families. We know from Prabandhacintāmani that there were many politicians like Udayana, Santu, Muñjala etc., but we have no other source to know except these praśastis about a great many rich and religious minded Jains staying in Pāṭaṇa or at different places who were instrumental in the maintenance and propagation of Jain society. These praśastis held as in gathering the history of many pious, liberal donors, popular and respectable men, men of good conduct and many important and dignified stories of their families which otherwise remained unknown upto this time.

More than eight hundred years have passed and yet the memorable work is found deposited in library at Pāṭaṇa. We do not know in this long period how many jain ascetics and learned men read or studied this Bhagavatīsūtra and how many jain men and women got the advantage of hearing the recital of this book and how many religious minded people did pūja of this work with their faith.

Thus from the Praśastis given in Jain pustakapraśastisaṅgraha we gather the names of 81 authors, 115 scribes and 74 kings ruling in Gujarat and 158 place-names which include the mountains, lakes, forts, villages and cities. The more interesting point is that the people got the books copied with different motives. These motives show the culture of our ancient society.

SANSKRIT BOOKS TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC AND PERSIAN

By

C. R. NAIK, Ahmedabad

The comprehension and appreciation of Sanskrit by Muslims started in foreign lands, particularly among Arab nations. The effects of the Arab conquest upon the Muslim culture were profound and far-reaching. India, then stood on a much higher intellectual plane and the Arab Scholars gained a lot from Buddhist and Brahmin Pandits in philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, chemistry and other subjects.

During the Abbaside rule (A.D. 750-1258) in Arabia, the capital was shifted (in A.D. 762) from Damascus[1] to Baghdad, which thereafter became the great centre for Muslim learning.[2] The Caliphs were the patrons of men of letters and men of science; and scholars from distant countries were invited to Baghdad. In those days, it was the Arabs who had the scientific spirit of inquiry and research and so they may be considered to be the fathers of modern science.[3]

Many Arab scholars were sent by the Abbaside government to carry on research work to Takṣaśilā, which was then a great university, specializing in medicine. During the Caliphate of Manṣūr (A.D. 753-774), among men of erudition who went from India to Baghdad was Mank (or Manek), the physician and philosopher. He reached Iraq during the reign of Haruna'r-Rashid (A.D. 786-809). When the fame of the Caliph reached his ears, he went to Baghdad to meet him. He cured him of the disease which could not be successfully treated by local physicians.[4] Thereafter he translated into Pahlawi,[5] a Sanskrit book on the subject of poisons written by another physician and philosopher named Śaunaka. The treatise on astronomy called Sūrya Siddhānta written by Brahm-gupta in A.D. 650 was translated into Arabic under the title Sind-hind. It was popular among Muslim scholars and through them, it reached Spain and then to the interior of Europe. Khand Khadyaka written by the aforesaid Brahmgupta after the completion of Sūrya Siddhānta was another work on astronomy, that was rendered into Arabic. Carak-Saṁhitā covering

The capital during the Umayyad rule (A.D. 661-750).

Sir Percy Sykes—A History of Persia, Vol. I., page No. 539.

Jawaharlal Nehru—Glimpses of World History (1962), P. 155.

A.M.A. Shushtery—Outlines of Islamic Culture, Vol. I, P. 331.

The language of the period between A.D. 226 and A.D. 900 in Persia written in the Armaic character.

the whole field of the medical science in eight parts was composed by Caraka, a moralist, philosopher and court physician of King Kaniṣka. This monumental work was first translated into Pahlawi and retranslated into Arabic by 'Abdullah, son of 'Ali as early as in A.D. 800. Sarp Vidyā by Pandit Rai dealing with the subject of snake-poisons was translated into Arabic under the title of Afa'yah. Stri-caritra by Raja-Kusha and Bodhisatva were two popular books among Muslims. They were translated into Arabic, the translation of the latter bearing the title of Buḍasf wa Balohar.[1] Portions of the Mahābhārata were translated into Pahlawi by Ṣāleḥ, son of Sho'aib, which again was translated by Abu'l-Ḥassan 'Ali ji'i in A.D. 1026 into Arabic. Sandhiāsan (or the Essence of Success) was translated into Arabic by the son of Pandit Dhan. Nidān, a work on pathology dealing with the causes, symptoms and treatment of diseases was rendered directly into Arabic. Pundit Brijhar translated a number of Sanskrit works on politics, the art of war and diplomacy.

There are several other Sanskrit works translated directly into Arabic or first into Pahlawi and then retranslated into Arabic in centres like Jund-e-Shāhpur.[2] In the case of some, original Sanskrit titles are not known; *e g.* Kank or Ganga (or may be Kanak), a physician and astronomer, was the author of several works, which were translated into Arabic, such as Asrāru-l-Mawālīd (Secrets of Nativities), and Iḥdāṭhu-l-'Ālam wad'-Dawr-e-fi-'l-Qirān (Beginning of the World and Revolution in Conjunction). Nafīr was the Arabic title of a treatise on music translated from Sanskrit.[3] Śaunaka whose mention has already come before was also the author of books on sundry subjects like astrology, astronomy, morals and veterinary science, that were translated into either Pahlawi or Arabic.

The son of Dhan referred to above, served in the Barmakiya[4] hospital of Baghdad as the chief physician; he translated a number of books from Sanskrit into Arabic.

The perusal of the above matter gives an idea as to how much importance was given by the learned men of Persia and Arabia to the knowledge contained in Sanskrit books on astronomy, astrology and medicine.

[1] There is a MS. in the library of Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedābād, No. 228-117.

[2] In Southwest Iran, there was a college then.

[3] A, M.A. Shushtery— Outlines of Islamic Culture, Vol.-I, p. 334.

[4] It is from Barmak whose descendants called Barmecides, so wisely directed the affairs of the Caliphate for fifty years (A.D. 752-804) and by their generous patronage of learning, lavish hospitability and wise administration conferred much lustre upon the reigns of the first five Abbaside Caliphs.

E. G. Browne—Literary History of Persian, Vol.-I., p. 257.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that during the middle ages down to the 17th century, Arabian medicine remained the final authority for European physicians and through Arabia, Indian medical writers became known to the West. Among them were Varāhmihira, Śriṣena, Āryabhatta and Brahmagupta.

Stories of the famous Sanskrit works Hitopadeś and Pañc-tantra were translated into Pahlawi during the time of Nawśerawān, the Just King of Persia (A.D. 531-579) and then the second Abbaside Caliph, Abu Ja'afar Manṣūr got it translated into Arabic in A.D. 750 by a famous man of letters of his time Abu'l-Ḥasan ibnu'l-Muqaffa' (d.A.D. 774).[1] This version was named 'Kalilah wa Damnah.' In A.D. 925, Rudagi, the Chaucer of Persia (d. A.D. 941) was asked by King Abu'l-Ḥasan bin Aḥmad Sāmāni, the King of Bukhārā (A.D. 914-943) to change the Arabic Text into Persian verse for which he received the magnificent sum of Rs. 80,000/- dinārs. In A.D. 1144, it was again rendered from Arabic into Persian, this time in prose, by Abu'l-Ma'āli Naṣrullah, by order of Muzaffar Behram Shah bin Sultān Masa'ūd of Ghazna (A. D. 1117-1152)[2]. This work is known as Kalilah wa Damna-e-Behrāmshāhī. As it was full of Arabic quotations and difficult and obsolete words, Mullā Ḥusain bin 'Ali al-Wā'iz al-'Kāshifi put it into a popular, easy and simple style so as to be within the comprehension of people in general.

In India, the couplets composed in Sanskrit in praise of Maḥmūd Ghaznī by Nandā, the Rājāh of Kalinjar in A.D. 1023[3] were the first to be translated into Persian from Sanskrit. The circumstances of composition were remarkable. The Rājāh had confined himself in a fort for fear of Maḥmūd. Afterwards when he surrendered, he made a present of the aforesaid couplets to Maḥmūd, who when, heard them, was so pleased that he gave the Rājāh several forts in reward.[4]

After the repeated invasions of Maḥmūd, Muslims came into direct touch and close contact with the Indians. Among the more famous Muslim scholars in Indian literature and philosophy was Abu Raiḥān al-Birūnī (d. A.D. 1038-39)[5], the famous historian and astronomer who came to India in the train of Maḥmūd and acquired Sanskrit. He lived in Multān, the then seat of learning, sixteen years, to complete his course of studies in Sanskrit. He soon made himself known to Hindu learned men, who gave him the honorable title of Vidyā-Sāgar (the Ocean of Learning).[6] Hindu philosophy had made its way

E. G. Browne—Literary History of Persia, Vol.-I, p. 110.
Prof. Abu Zafar Nadvi—Mukhtaṣar Tarikh-e-Hind, p. 48 (Urdu).
Muhammed Qasim Firishtah—Tarikh-e-Farishtah, Vol-I, p. 99 (Urdu)
Muhammed Qasim Firishtah—Tarikh-e-Farishtah, Vol-I, p. 59 (Persian)
Elliot & Dowson—The History of India, Vol-II, p. 3.
A.M.A. Shushtery—Outlines of Islamic Culture, Vol-I, p. 335.

imperceptibly into the esoteric Islam even before its advent into India. Al-Birūnī was the first to make the elements thereof accessible to Muslims. His works contain valuable materials on Indian philosophy, history and customs. Under the Muslim rule in India from the times of Al-Birūnī, philosophy, mythology, history, religion and such other subjects were included in the study of Muslims.

In A.D. 1314, a Muslim Ṣūfi from Āssām named Muḥammed translated into Persian, a Sanskrit work entitled Amar Kḥand (?) by Kama (?). The translation is known with the title of Baḥru-l-Ḥayāt (Ocean of Life). During the reign of Sultan Muḥammedsḥāh Tughlaq (A.D. 1324-51) the translation of a Sanskrit book Śuka Saptati in Persian was completed by Ziā-l-Nakhshabi in A.D. 1329 and the version was given the title Ṭuṭi-nāmah.[1] In A.D. 1362, when Sultān Firuzshāh Tughlaq (A.D. 1351-87) captured Nagarkot (or Kangra)[2]. About 1300 Sanskrit books of the Jwālāmukhī Temple Library fell into his hands. He ordered that some of them should be translated into Persian and one, in particular, treating of natural science, augury and divination was rendered into Persian by a court-poet 'Izzu-d-Din Khālid Khāni and named by him Dalāilu-l-Firuzshāhi.

Since the literary renaissance of the age of Akbar, Muslims began to evince greater interest in Sanskrit literature and the Hindu religion. He presented popular Hindism to Muslims by having several Sanskrit works transforred into Persian.

The Emperor had great aptitude for the knowledge of religious works of Hindus, so he assigned 'Ābdu'l-Qādir Badāuni, the great historian (d.A.D. 1596) Atharva Ved to be translated into Persian. In A.D, 1595 a Brahmin named Bhavan[3] renowned for erudition, who had gone to the court of Akbar and turned Muslim was invited by Badāuni to help him in the task. But the former failed to express adequately his ideas so the work was entrusted to Faiḍi, the elder brother of Abu'l-Faḍl and poet-laureate and ulitmately it was finished by Shaikh Hāji Ibrahim Sirhindi. But it was not to the satisfaction of Akbar.[4]

Abul-Faḍl, the Vazir and one of the celebrated personages known as Nauratna (or the Nine Gems) of the Court of Akbar had profound knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy. He made by order of the Emperor in A.D. 1587 a simpler and more lucid paraphrase of Anwār-e-Subaili referred to above, using original Sanskrit works so that the final version might be better under-

[1] MS in the library of Gujarat Vidya Sabhā, Ahmedābād

[2] Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 155.

[3] He was known as Shaikh Bhavan.

[4] Badāuni-Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p. 215.

stood by common people. He named it 'yar-e-Dānesh (Touchstone of Wisdom)[1].

The translation of the Rāmāyaṇa in Persian was started by Badāuni in A.D. 1585 and completed in A.D. 1588 with the help of Naqib Khān and Hāji Sulṭān. Akbar was greatly pleased[2] with the perusal of the work and expressed the desire that Badāuni should write a preface, which he refused to do as it was according to him, the book of Kāfirs.[3] So the learned Abu'-l-Faḍl wrote it wherein he stated that the work was undertaken to remove the hatred between Hindus and Muslims. In the same work, he presented a sketch of Hindu system of cosmology.[4]

Faiḍi who was one of the few Muslim Sanskritists could have a good command of the Vedic literature and Hindu philosophy on account of his exceptional talents, within a very short time. He translated Bhāskar's, a mathematical treatise in A.D. 1586 under the title of Badāiu-'l-Funūn. He also translated the first two parts of the Mahābhārata in A.D. 1589 and rendered some portions of the aforesaid Persian version of the Rāmāyaṇa into elegant prose and verse.

The translation of the Mahābhārata was started in A.D. 1591 under the joint efforts of Badāuni, Naqib Khān, the learned Faiḍi, the renowned poet Mullā Shiri[5], Hāji Sulṭān and others. It was accomplished very well. At the time when Mullā Shīrī was working on the translation, he said, "These prolix fables resemble the dreams of a man in fever".[6]

In A.D. 1594, Faiḍi composed within five months, a Mathnawi (epic-poem) entitled Nal-wa-Daman founded on the episode of Nala and Damayanti, as occurring in the Mahābhārata rendered from the original Sanskrit into 4,200 verses. It is considered as one of the best beautiful love-stories in the world and as one of the best works ever written in Persian verse.[7] On completion, when it was presented to Akbar, he spoke highly of it and ordered its being

[1] Abu-l-Faḍl—Āin-e-Akbari, p. 77.

[2] Badāuni—Muntakhabu'-t-Tawārikh, Vol. II, p. 366

[3] Badāuni learned three things about the Hindus namely that they used to eat beef and bury dead bodies in ancient times and that they had a formula in the Atharva Veda which was similar in meaning and sound to the Muslim Knlima (Muntakhabu'-t-Tawārikh, Vol. II, p. 319-21).

Badāuni, Muntakhabu'-t-Tawārīkh. Vol. II, p. 366.

Mullā Abdul-Bāqi Nahawandi Maaṭhir-e-Raḥimi, Vol. III, p. 1112.

Badāuni--Muntakhabu'-t-Tawārīkh, Vol-III, p. 252.

Ghani M. A.—A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Pt. III, p. 43.

profusely illustrated with pictures and read before him daily. Even Badāunī who always spoke of Faiḍi in harsh words said, " In truth, it is a Mathnawi, the like of which for the last 300 years since Amir Khusraw (d.A.D. 1325), no poet has composed ".[1]

Rāja Taranginī by Kalhaṇa containing in Sanskrit an account of four thousand years of Kashmir[2] written during the time of Zainu'l-'Ābidin, the governor of Kashmir was presented to Akbar in his journey to Kashmir in A.D. 1595. The Emperor liked it very much and desired it to be translated into Persian. Thereafter by his order, Maulānā Shāh Muḥammad of Shāhābad completed successfully the work under the supervision of Badāunī and named the translation Baḥru-l-Asmā (Ocean of Names). Akbar was so pleased to see the work that he bestowed upon Badāunī 10,000 tankās and a horse as a present.[3] Selected portions of the book were translated by Badāunī in simple Persian and that version was put in the royal library.[4]

Yoga Vasiṣṭha was translated by joint efforts of Abu'l-Faḍl, Naqib Khān and Mullā Shāh.

Tājik, a standard work on astronomy was translated by Muhammad Khan Gujarati, the renowned astrologer of Akbar's time.[5]

Harivaṁśa was translated by Mullā Shīrī.

Bhagawadgītā was translated by Faiḍi in Persian verse. It is not the literal translation. He took only the marrow of the matter in pure and simple Persian. The perusal of the work leaves an impression on the mind of an original work and not a translation.

Girdhardās Kaishth of Delhi translated[6] the Rāmāyaṇa for the second time in A.D. 1626. It was also translated by Chandrabhan[7] in A.D. 1685.

Dārā Śikoh, the brother of the emperor Aurangzeb was an enthusiastic student of Hindu philosophy. He was admittedly the great scholar of his age in the country and the most learned prince of the House of Taimur. He had a passion for discovering the principle of unity in plurality revealed in religions and was convinced that the doctrine of 'Tauḥid' or One-ness has assumed, as pure water does, different colours in different vessels. He presented the highest

Badāunī, Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh, Vol. II., p. 396.

Abu'l-Faḍl—Āin-e-Akbari, p. 76.

Badāunī, Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p. 401.

Badāunī, Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh, Vol. II, p. 374.

5 Muḥammad Hussain Āzād—Darbār-e-Akbari, p. 117.

6 Sayyad Sabahu'-d-dīn—Bazm-e-Taimuriya, p. 65.

7 Dr. Sayyad 'Abdullah- -Adabiyyat-e-Fārsī Main Hinduon-kā Hissah, p. 88 (Urdu).

and best tracts of Hinduism to Muslims in an attractive garb with translations of standard philosophical work.

Shaikh Aḥmed[1] and other, assisted by Pandits, translated Bhāgwata Purāṇa for Dārā who gave it the title of Āb-e-Zindagi (Water of life).

The Tarjuma-e-Jog-Vasiṣṭḥa was written in A.D. 1656 for Dārā by one Mullā Muḥammad, a Ṣufi[2] under his own superintendece assisted by Pandits. Dārā wrote an interesting introduction to it.

The famous philosophical drama, Prabodh Candrodaya written by Krishna Mishra Yāti in A.D. 1065 was rendered into Persian, under the title of Gulzār-ē-Ḥāl for the use of Dārā by his Munshi Banvalidās.[3]

The greatest of Dārā's literary achievements was the translation of fifty-two Upaniṣads into graceful and masterly Persian prose under the title of Sirr-e-Akbar (The Greatest Secret) or Sirru'-l-Asrar (The Secret of Secrets) which is suggestive of the nature of the contents.

It was the insatiable thirst for the full exposition of the doctrine of Oneness of the almighty that brought Dārā ultimately to the fountain-head of the Upaniṣads. The Quraān says[4] "Most surely, it is an honoured Quraān in a book that is protected; none shall touch it save the purified ones; a revelation by the Lord of the World". Dārā interprets it thus; "The Upaniṣad could be none other than the Hidden Book mentioned in the afore-said verses of the Quräan-e-Sharif, because the etymological significance of the Upaniṣad suggests that which is taught in secret."[5]

According to the Introduction, Dārā got together a number of Sanyāsīs and Pundits of Banāras, well-versed in the Vedas and Upaniṣads and with their help completed the translation in six months, on Monday, 26th Ramdan A. H. 1067 (28th June A.D. 1657)[6] at his palace Manzil-e-Nigambodh in Delhi.

It is said that it was the Persian translation of Dārā from which the Upaniṣads were rendred into different languages of the West and the Germans could know the secrets therein from the Persian translation only.[7]

---

[1] M.S. in possession of Sorabshah N. Contractor in Broach [Jamshedji Cawasji Katrak—Oriental Treasures (1941), p. 118.]

[2] Mūbid Shāh—Dabistān-e Madhāhib (MS. in Gujarat Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedābād.)

[3] C. Rieu—Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum. Vol. III, p. 1043.

[4] The Quraān (Ed. by Muhammad 'Ali, Chapter LVI, p. 1040).

[5] The Introduction of the translation (K. R. Qaanungo-Dārā Shikoh, p. 148).

[6] Kalika-Ranjan Qanungo-Dārā Shīkoh, p. 150.

[7] Sayyad-Sabāhu'd-Din-Bazme-e-Taimuriyah, p. 406 (Urdu).

The tragedy was that on account of his beliefs Dārā was considered as an apostate and a heretic and later on, the same led to his decline and execution in A.D. 1658.

There is a MS. entitled Krisṇa Caritra by Zainu'd-Din Ali in the library of Gujarāt Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedābād.[1] It seems to be the translation of some Sanskrit work. It is, in prose interspersed with verse. It is stated in the preface that Brahmā made four Vedas and He can Himself appear in any form like Rāma or Krisṇa and such other deities. The work begins thus :—

"Rājā Parikṣit says to Śukdevajī, I learnt about Bhagawadgītā, Sūryavaṁsh and Śomvaṁsh. Now tell me why Krisṇa killed his maternal uncle."

In the last (42nd) Adhyāya, there is the naration of the event of transforming an ugly woman into a beautiful one.

The translations produced during the Mughal period benefited rather the succeeding generations of the Persian-knowing Islamicized Hindu-Court-nobility than their Muslim compatriots who could not form any high opinion of Hinduism from these works; the Muslims failed to understand the high philosophical truths and morals hidden under romance and allegory in Sanskrit works.

However, it is a fact that the study of Sanskrit occupied an important position in the scheme of things in the Mediaeval Period in India among the learned and intellectual Muslims who had broad views of life and who had received encouragement from rulers and princes.

No. 259-153.

LAND SALE IN ANCIENT INDIA
(321 B.C. to A.D. 320)

By

NARENDRA NATH KHER, Śāntiniketan

Sale of land, like gift of land, was not looked upon with favour in the earlier period. But with the development of the social and economic pattern, there was a departure from the injunctions against the sale of landed property. Though we have only a few actual instances of land sale in the period under review, the elaborate rules and regulations framed by the ancient Jurists tend to show that the sale of land became fairly prevalent by the first three centuries of the Christian era.

The primary safeguard against any fraudulent land transaction lies in the fact that the seller should be the real owner. We learn from the Arthaśāstra that the ownership implies the right to dispose of the property. Kauṭilya further avers that if the real owner finds his lost property being enjoyed by another, he should take legal steps against the latter. The offender could be asked how he came into possession of this property. If he described the facts convincingly, but remained unable to produce the person, who actually sold that property to him, he was released, but the property was confiscated from him. If, on the other hand, he produced the fraudulent seller in the court, the latter was further required to produce the person, who sold that property to him; failing which the seller not only had to pay the total value of the property, but was also liable to punishment for theft.[1] Manu also lays down that anybody selling the property of another without establishing ownership or without obtaining prior consent of the real owner, was considered to be a thief.[2] However, the same authority further tells us that if the offender happened to be a Kinsman of the owner, he was to pay a fine of 600 panas; but if he had no relationship with the owner, nor could he produce any convincing excuse or proof, he was held guilty of theft.[3] Thus the sale effected by anyone, excepting the owner, was generally considered as an invalid transaction.

The land was at first offered for sale to the Kinsmen of the owner. If

---

[1] Artha Śās: III.16.

[2] Manu VIII, 197, 199 Cf. VIII. 165.

[3] Manu VIII. 198. Medatithi says that in the former case, he is not quite a thief, because he may be having an idea that the property belongs to his father and so it is his and it is most likely that he will pass on the sale proceeds to the rightful owner *i.e.* his father.

they did not show any inclination to buy, the neighbours were approached. On refusal of both the parties, the land was sold to wealthy persons[4] or possibly to the creditors of the seller. There, however, does not appear to be any such restriction on the sale of land to be donated for religious and charitable activities. In the Śātavāhana period, the merchants and other worshippers (upāsakas) could dispose of their lands for religious donations.[5] The scene of such sale and purchase is also best illustrated on Barhut tope, where Anāthapinḍika (Sudata) purchases the garden from Prince Jeta for cartloads of 18 crores of gold pieces and donated the same to the Buddhist Saṁgha. Thus the sale of private land in the village to an outsider may not have been totally extinct in the period under review.[7]

No sale in the village was considered complete without the presence of the villagers from the co-villages. Kauṭilya says that forty selected persons of good family (Sāmanta Catvarimśat Kulya) should have the privilege of being present at the time of sale and purchase of fields, gardens, lakes etc., and possibly settling any kind of dispute arising out of such sales. Such persons are evidently supposed to be witnesses in a transaction, who, we are told, had no personal interest in the sale.[8] The full and correct descriptions of the plots of land, gardens etc., and their exact boundaries were to be publicly announced in the presence of the headman and the elders of the village or of the neighbouring village.[9] For, elsewhere, we know that the transactions settled in seclusion, inside the houses, in the dead of night, in forests, in secret etc., were held to be null and void.[10] Sale by bidding system was known. If on crying loudly three times "who will purchase this at such and such a price", no opposition was raised, the purchaser, evidently the highest bidder, purchased the land[11] and acquired alongwith it a clear title by legal purchase.[12] It is interesting to note

[4] Artha Śās: III.9.

[5] Luders list No's. 1162, 1000.

[6] Cf. LL No. 731; Jat., I.92 ff; Buddhist India, 98 f. The Cullavagga account further tells us that Prince Jeta did not receive a huge amount of money offered by Anthāpinḍika, but contributed some more money and converted the pleasure garden into a great Buddhist monastic residence. Cullavagga, P. 159.

[7] Cf. Vinay Piṭaka 2, 158, 159.

[8] Arthaśāstra: III.9; According to Hopkins, the field was not sold without the consent of the whole village in particular cases. Cp India, old and new.

[9] Artha Śās: III.9.

[10] Ibid. III.1; Cf Yajña: II, 31-2.

[11] Ibid III.9.

[12] Manu VIII. 201; J.A.H.R.S, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, 1927-8, P. 125.

that the system known to the remote age of the Arthaśāstra has come down to our times in almost exactly the same manner.

The prices once settled could not be altered. As the selling meant actual handing over of the sold property to the purchaser, the seller could not change his mind. Thus the Arthaśāstra lays down that if the owner sold his landed property to a person different from the actual bidder, he was to pay a fine of 24 panas.[13] But we learn from the later Smṛitis[14] that such owners (*i.e.* sellers) had to pay a fine of the produce of the immovable property *i.e.* land, which was obviously much more than the nominal penalty laid down in the Arthaśāstra. Manu, however, tells that if after buying and selling anything, the seller or the buyer repented of the bargain, the chattel (*i.e.* land according to Medatithi, Govinda and Kullaka) should be returned or taken back within ten days.[15] Thus the maximum period to annual the sale of land was ten days. After that any party involved in giving or taking back (except by consent presumably of the king) was to pay a heavy fine of 600 paṇas to the treasury.[16]

The state in our period also entered into transactions of sale and purchase to swell the treasury. We know from the authority of the Arthaśāstra that the first settlers purchased from the king, the whole tract for the establishment of colony.[17] Besides, the imperial lords purchased fertile lands from other rulers under an agreement of 'unconcealed peace' (amibhrtasandhih).[18] Thus apart from the political aspect of consolidating their empires, such lands were probably given to the landless peasants to improve their economic condition. But unfortunately, Kauṭilya does not throw any light on the method of settling the price or the mode and method of such payment. Sometimes, the king purchased land from private land owners for the purpose of religious donation. Thus we learn from an epigraphic record of the first half of the 2nd Century A.D.,[19] that Ushavadāta, son-in-law of king Nahapana purchased an arable field on the North-west side of Govardhana (Nāsik) from a Brahmana for 4,000 Kārshapaṇas. The field was later on donated by him for the benefit of the monks residing in the caves nearby.

All kinds of illegal land sales were rejected by the state. Transactions by insane, drunk, minor, servile and other unauthorised persons were declared

[13] Artha Śās: III.9,
[14] Yajña: II.254; Nārada VIII, 4.
[15] Manu VIII. 222; Also Yajña: II.177.
[16] Ibid VIII. 223.
[17] Artha Śās: VII. II.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ep Ind., VIII, P. 78f; LL 1131.

invalid,[20] as also transactions effected by force.[21] The Mahābhārata lays down that widows can utilize the income of inherited property, but are not empowered to dispose of it under any circumstances.[22] Vishnu[23] and the later lawgiver, Yajñavalkya[24] also admit her right of inheritance, but forbid her to sell, mortgage or give that away. The Brāhmaṇas taking up the profession of the Vaisyas were prohibited from selling their lands.[25] Lands granted to the state-officials could not be sold by them.[26] The Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to dispose of brahmadeya lands to non-Brāhmanas.[27] Taxable lands were not to be alienated to persons, who were tax free.[28] A prostitute selling or mortgaging her property (svapateyam) was to pay a fine of 50¼ paṇas.[29] Thus the injunctions legislated by the ancient Indian thinkers seem to have been observed both in principle and in practice, for we hardly find any instance of deviting from such rules.

In a dispute between the buyer and the seller, their antecedents were of great factor in deciding the issue. In the account of Appolonius of Tyana, the king of Taxila lays before Appolonius a case of dispute. In that, the buyer and the seller btoh claimed the treasure found in land just sold. The king decided the issue in favour of the purchaser after verifying that the seller was a person of bad conduct.[30]

Sale of different types of land, such as arable, waste, garden and forest etc., was often effected. In one of the Jātakas, a Brāhmaṇa clears the trees to make land fit for cultivation.[31] This possibly signifies that the forest land may have been sold to him by the state, for the king having full control over the forest or waste land is also referred to in the early Buddhist literature.[32] We further learn that all types of land sales were registered in the state records.[33] Sale deeds, like those of the Gupta period, were probably not unknown. How-

[20] Manu VIII. 163.
[21] Ibid VIII. 168; Cf Vishnu VII. 6.
[22] Mbh. XIII. 82, 25.
[23] XVII. 43; Cf J.B.O.R.S. Vol XXIV, 1938, P. 7.
[24] II, 135-36.
[25] Mbh. Śāntiparva, 77; 78, 2.
Artha Śās: II.1; III.10.
Ibid.
Ibid.
Ibid, II.27.
R. C. Majumdar, The Classical accounts of India, P. 393.
J., IV. 167.
[32] Dīghanikāya, I, 87.
[33] Artha Śās., II.35.

ever, our sources are silent as regards the details in such deeds, which we find in the case of North Bengal records of the Gupta age.[34]

The price of land varied according to whether it was arable, uncultivable or homestead and from place to place. It also depended upon the nature and quality of the soil. The Nāsik Buddhist cave inscription of Ushavadāta[35] records an arable field sold for 4,000 Kārshapaṇas (silver coins ?). The field was situated on the boundary of the town and, therefore, fetched a high price. Demand for landed property owing to the density or population was increasing everywhere and prices were soaring up as time rolled on. The lands were not only purchased for the purpose of religious donation, but also for agricultural operations, on which depended the very life of the people. Land sale and mortgage also proved useful to keep the rural indebtedness in check.

[34] Cp Asutosh silver Jubilee Vol. III, 1925, PP. 478 ff.

[35] Ep Ind., 78 f.

FIELD AND PLACE NAMES IN THE THANA CHARTER OF ŚILĀHĀRA KING MUMMUṆI; Śaka 970

By

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, Nagpur

In his Samśodhana-Muktāvali, Sara IV, pp. 115-141, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi has edited a very important copper plate grant of the Śilāhāra Mummuṇi. This set was recently discovered at Thana while digging for earth in the ruins of the old fort there and has now been acquired by the Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay. This charter purports to record a grant by Mummuṇi, of the Thana branch of the Silāhāra dynasty and is dated Śaka Saṁvat 970, Sarvadhāri saṁvatsara, Phālguna Paurṇimā, on the occassion of a lunar eclipse for the merit of his chief queen Padmā. This date corresponds regularly with 20th February 1059 A.D. when there was a lunar eclipse as stated and there is no reason for doubting the genuineness of the grant. According to the subject matter of the donations recorded in the charter it can be divided into two sections. In the first section some villages from the Vareṭikā district (Viṣaya) are given to fourteen brahmins hailing from Karahāṭaka. In the second section the income accruing from some lands from the Śurpāraka 66 and Abhyantara 66 districts has been donated to seven other brahmins for religious purposes. The names of the Brahmins and other particulars regarding their gotras etc., as also of the property granted are specified in great details.

This grant is important in several ways. In the first place it happens to be the earliest copper plate grant known so far issued by King Mummuṇi, his other dates *viz.*, Saka 971 and 972 being furnished by the Prince of Wales Museum Plates[1] and the Ambarnath Temple Inscription[2] respectively. Secondly this grant gives us the particulars of fifty-one fields from the villages mentioned in the grant which have a special topographical and lexical interest since many of the names for the fields are current even now in the Konkan area. The topography of the inscription also introduces us to a new geographical region governed by the Silāhāra dynasty since all the place names mentioned in the grant have now been identified. Similarly the name of Queen Padmā is also made known to us for the first time through this charter; and finally it also furnishes us some new information regarding the weights and measures of corn which were not hitherto recorded in any Silāhāra inscription.

[1] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 53 ff.

[2] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 219; Vol. XII, p. 329.

As the topographical and other details mentioned in the grant were not sufficiently emphasized in the paper published by Dr. V. V. Mirashi earlier, it is proposed to deal with these in the following lines.

As stated already the first section of the grant relates to the villages from the Vareṭikā district. The details regarding these are as follows:

(1) Ekasāla, one of the donated villages, was bounded on the east by the Ulasa, river, by the Pavahā river on the south; by a go-mārga on the west; and by a Aśvattha tree and a Go-mārga on the north.

(2) Bhutavali, the second village was bounded by a Viraka on the east; by a mountain on the south and western sides; and again by a Viraka on the northern side.

(3) Vaḍavali, the third village donated, was bounded by a Aśvattha and a Pimpari tree on the eastern side; by a Ḍongarikā (*i.e.* a small hillock) which was crowned with a shrine of Ucchādevi on the southern side; by a Viraka on the west; and by the Pavahā river on the north.

(4) Āsala-grāma. This village was bounded on the east by a Viraka situated in the Vaḍavali village; by another Viraka on the south; by a large mountain (Bṛhat-Parvata) on the west; and by a Viraka in the village Vikarā.

(5) The name of the fifth village is unfortunately very much blurred in the record; but from the extent portion it can be made out that a temple called Ghaṇṭeśvara was situated in this village. This village was bounded on the east by a Go-mārga leading to the village Ekasāla; by the Pavahā river on the south; by a Piṁparikā Kṣetra connected with the temple of Nāgeśvara and by a Rāja-mārga (*i.e.* highway) on the west; and further by a Go-mārga on the North.

(6) Besides these above five villages the grant also mentions one Umva(mba)-ravali, a village which was earlier donated to a brahmin called Madhu Paṇḍita. No other details regarding the boundaries of this village are stated.

All these villages were situated in the Vareṭikā viṣaya, the name of which is already known to us from the Vadavalli Plates[3] of Śilāhāra Aparāditya, dated Saka 1049. The village headed by this district was hitherto unidentified, but the mention of the river Ulasa which can easily be equated to the modern Ulhāsa river greatly helps us in locating it properly. Since all the places mentioned above are interconnected with each other from the boundaries specified it is clear they must all be located near the banks of the rivers Ulhāsa and

[3] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505 ff.

Pavahā, and which should be found close together. From the Survey of India Sheet No. 47 F/5 we are able to locate them satisfactorily as follows:

Ekasāla is to be identified with a village of the same name, now situated about 1½ miles to the north of the Bhivapuri Road Railway station on the Central Railway. About a furlong to the north of this village flows the river Ulhāsa in the direction indicated in the copper plate charter. About half a mile to the south of Ekasāla lies the village Veḍavali, without any change in its name. A small stream flows in between Ekasāla and Vaḍavali crossing the railway tract near the mile-stone SE 57. The stream is evidently the same as mentioned by the river Pavahā in the grant, though no name is specified for the stream on the maps. To the south of the village Vaḍavali there is a small hillock about 50-75 feet in height, which evidently is the small Dongarikā mentioned in the grant as having a shrine of Ucchā-devi. At present there are no traces of any temple or sculptures crowning the top of this hillock but its position is quite conspicuous when seen from the railway tract and there is no doubt regarding its identification. Behind this hillock lies the village Bhutavali,[4] which is about 1 mile to the S.W. of Vaḍavali and immediately behind this village lies the hill range of Matheran, which is specified as a Parvata in the copper plate charter. About 2 furlongs to the north of Bhutavali we come across a small hamlet called Āsala, which is indicated by the same name in the charter. About 2 furlongs still north of Āsala there lies another Vāḍi specified by the name Bekare, which is evidently the same as Vikarā mentioned in the copper plate. In this way nearly all the villages mentioned in the first section of the charter can be identied satisfactorily in the vicinity of the railway station Bhivapuri Road lying within a radius of 5/6 miles. The copper plate grant further mentions a village (whose name is effaced in the original) as having a temple of Ghaṇṭeśvara. In view of the identification of Ekasāla as above proposed it seems certain that it is the modern village Āmbivali which lies about a mile to the west of Ekasāla. The village Umva(mba)ravali, whose boundaries are not specified in the grant, is probably represented by Umroli, a small village situated about a mile to the south of Bhivpuri Road railway station.

As all these villages were included in the Vareṭikā *viṣaya* it is evident that this village should be searched for in close proximity to them. The only village answering to this description appears to be Variṭi which is situated on the Bhivaṇḍi-Wāḍe road and lies about 12½ miles to the north of Bhivandi, in the Bhivandi taluka of Thana district. It is not known if the place has any ancient remains so as to prove its antiquity but the phonetic equivalent is quite

[4] In view of the name of the village being found as Bhutavali on the maps, the emendation Bhutava(ba)li suggested by Dr. V. V. Mirashi is not necessary.

significant. This identification is proposed here for the first time and would meet the necessary corroboration if the place names mentioned in the Vadavalli plates[5] of Aparārka could be found in its vicinity.

The villages and the topographical details mentioned in the second section of the grant of Mummuṇi are more elaborate and it would be appropriate to set forth the entire data in this respect first, before proposing their identifications. The grant expressly mentions that the villages donated therein lay outside the Vareṭikā viṣaya, and were included in the Śūrpāraka 66 and the Abhyantara 66 viṣayas. Both these districts are already known to us through other Śilāhāra inscriptions. The Bhandup Plates of Chhittarāja,[6] dated Saka 948, refer to a *Sthānakābhyantara 66 viṣaya* which is evidently meant for distinguishing this viṣaya from others and as pointed out correctly by Dr. Mirashi, the Abhyantara viṣaya has be taken in conjunction with Sthānaka i.e. Thana. The Abhyantara viṣaya therefore indicates the territory between the Thana and the Bassin creeks, and included in it a group of 66 villages. Śurpāraka, the head of another 66 villages, is too well-known to be identified and is now represented by Nala Sopara, well-known for its antiquarian remains.

The grant includes the following village and field names from the Abhyantara 66 viṣaya :

(7) Koṭthāra-veḍhi kṣetra in the village Mulanda. Bounded on E. by Khairoṇḍhā-kṣetra ; S. by a Vāvaka (*i.e.* field) owned by Va(Ba)ṭuka Keśavaiya ; W. by Kusumvi(mbi)kṣetra owned by Vo(Bo)lathai Bhaṭṭārikā ; and N. by a field belonging to Vipra Tikkamva(mbo)iya.

(8) Vāḍa-kṣetra in the village Vo(Bo)riyalā. The boundaries of this field were E. Ukkāsa (*i.e.* waste land) from a kṣetra called Khānuvaḍā and a Abhiṭṭhā tree ; S. a Viraikā W. Kāḍevalli Pallikā related to a village (name effaced) N. Vāvaka or a field belonging to Vipra Dāupaiya.

(8-A) Nihura Kṣetra from the same village (*i.e.* Vo(Bo)riyalā.) The boundaries are E. Māne-grāma ; S. Go-mārga ; W. Goprachāra and N. Cincā-vṛkṣa. (tamarind trees).

(8-B) Voula-poṇḍhā kṣetra from the same village (Vo(Bo)riyalā.) The boundaries are E. Vāvaka (*i.e.* field) belonging to Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa Deva (a person or a temple of God Viṣṇu) S. Nihura-kṣetra ; W. Ārāmaka (orchard) belonging to Kuṭumbika Pāmvu(mbu)va ; and N. Khānuvala Kṣetra.

The villages from the Śūrpāraka 66 viṣaya and the fields together with their boundaries are speclfied as follows:

[5] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 505 ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 277; *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 250 ff.

(9) Two Poṇḍhā fields in the village Ṭri(Bṛi)hadāḍaṇika[7] in Śurpāraka 66. The boundaries are E. A Uṣara land containing Aśvattha, Nyagrodha, Aśvattha + Ciñcā, and Khadira trees and extending from South-west to South-east; S. Two fields named Vāñkaḍi-kṣetra and Simhala-dwīpa; W. Pāṣāṇa-śṛṅkhalikā (*i. e.* stones in the form of chains) and Nikhāta-pāṣāṇa (*i.e.* stones hewn from rocks); and N. Madhu-kṣetra.

(9-A) Two Toraṇi-kṣetras from the same village (*i.e.* Bṛhadaḍaṇika). The boundaries are: E. Nāṇe-vāpa Kṣetra and Veḍe-vâpa Kṣetra; S. Rāja-mārga (*i.e.* Highway); W. Pūrva-bhukti (*i.e.* lands which have already been donated) and the pānīya prapāta (*i.e.* a small water-fall); N. Bhābhoṇḍhā Kṣetra.

(10) Māni Kṣetra from the village Laghu Aḍaṇikā.
The boundaries are: E. Vārasaunda Kṣetra; S. Jamvu(mbu)-vaṭi Kṣetra; W. Khaṇḍivali Grāma; and S. Khaṇḍivali grāma and Pūrva-bhukti (lands already donated).

(10-A) Madhuka Kṣetra near the field mentioned in (10) in the same village. The boundaries are: E. Choḷi Kṣetra; S. Bendari Kaccha; W. Bendari Kaccha; N. Laghu Vāhalikā (*i.e.* a small stream).

(10-B) Utteśrava Kṣetra from the same village (*i.e.* Laghu Aḍaṇikā) The The boundaries are specified as: E. Ṣhṭembha (*i. e.* a low mound—Gujarāti: *Ṭimbā*); S. Go-mārga; W. Go-mārga; and S. Bandha (*i. e.* an embankment).

(11) Kusumbholi Kṣetra in the village Khānuvaḍā in the same *viṣaya* (*i. e.* Śūrpāraka 66). The boundaries are E. Madhu Vṛkṣa (Madhu tree); S. Kusumbholi Kṣetra with Royal proprietary rights; W. Kṣāra nadī (*i. e.* salty river); and a Khajjana (salty ditch); N. Vaṭa Vṛkṣa (Banyan tree) and Pūrva-Bhukti (*i. e.* land already donated).

(11-B) Pimpala-vāya Kṣetra in the same (*i.e.* Khānuvaḍā) village. The boundaries are: E. Vṛkṣa (Banyan Tree); S. Kusumbholi Kṣetra; W. Kusumbholi Kṣetra with Royal proprietary rights; N. Pūrva-bhukti (*i. e.* land already donated) and Pānīya Prapāta (the water-fall nearby) and a Ḍongarikā (*i. e.* a small hillock).

(11-B) Chaṇevaṭi Kṣetra in the same (Khānuvaḍā) village. The boundaries are: E. Go-mārga; S. Go-mārga; W. Kṣāra-nadī (salty river) and Khajjana (*i. e.* a salty ditch); N. Kusumbholi Kṣetra.

(11-C) Ukkāsa (waste land) of the same field (*i. e.* Chaṇevaṭi Kṣetra mentioned in 11 B above). The boundaries specified are: E. Āgara-veḍhi

[7] For this reading see *below*, p. 270.

Keṣtra; S. Ardha-pāda Kṣetra and Carikā (a small ditch); W. Taṭākapāli (*i. e.* an embankment of a tank); and N. Talāvaṭi Kṣetra.

(12) Two Thāpaḍa Kṣetras and two Sāliyapa Kṣetras in the village Peḍhāla, in Śūrpāraka 66.

The boundaries are: E. Bhamva(mba)nī-vāha Kṣetra; S. another Thāpaḍa Kṣetra (excluding those mentioned above; with Royal proprietary rights; W. Taḍāga-pāli (*i. e.* an embankmeut of a tank); and N. Deḷyalā Kṣetra.

(12A) Jalu-voṇḍhā Kṣetra from the same village (*i. e.* Peḍāla). The Boundaries are: E. A Vāvaka (*i. e.* field) belonging to Stakhālā; S. Taḍāgikā (*i. e.* tank); W. Koñchoroṇḍhā Kṣetra and N. Khānu Kṣetra.

The boundories specified are—E. Deīyalā Kṣetra with Royal proprietary rights; S. Sāḷiyapa Kṣetra; W. Ukkāsa (*i.e.* waste land) belonging to Deīyalā Kṣetra; N. Field belonging to Khojja Vā(Bā)dala.

(13-A) Two fields styled Kavaḍochchhi and Kaṇi from the same village (*i.e.* Peḍhāla). The boundaries are: E. Dantacchida of a Parvatikā (*i.e.* tusk-like cliff of a hillock); S. Rāja-mārga (highway); W. Ḍongarikā (*i.e.* a hillock); and N. a Taḍāgikā (*i.e.* a tank).

(14) Two Khānu fields in the village Peḍhāla in Śūrpāraka 66. The boundaries are: E. Go-mārga; S. Two fields named Koñchoroṇḍhā and Jaluvoṇḍhā (already mentioned in No. 12 A above); W. Taḍāga (tank); and N. Ukkāsa (waste land) with Royal proprietary rights.

(15) Mājhila-vāvā Kṣetra (field belonging to or named after Mājhila Bābā), in the village Peḍhāla in Śūrpāraka 66.

The boundaries mentioned are: E. Vāvaka (field) belonging to Jogeśvara Bhaṭṭa; S. Kadaṁba tree; W. Vāvaka (field) belonging to Jogeśvara Bhaṭṭa; and N. Madhu Vṛkṣa (Madhuka = Mahua tree).

(15-A) Ukkāsa of the field mentioned in No. 15 above.

The boundaries of the waste land are specified as follows: E. Vāvaka (field) belonging to Jogeśvara Bhaṭṭa; S. Brahmadāya Kṣetra (*i.e.* field given away to Brahmins) W. Oḍaṁbhṛka (*i.e.* brook flowing with rattling noise); and N. Ciñcā (tamarind) trees.

(15-B) Ādhavāīla Kṣetra from the same village (*i.e.* Peḍhāla).

The specified boundaries are: E. Brahmadāya Kṣetra (Field donated to Brahmins); S. and W. a mountain; and N. Chaṇeveḍhi Kṣetra.

(15-C) Kaccha Kṣetra from the village Uppala-pallikā situated close to the Village Vīrār, in Śūrpāraka 66.

The boundaries are: E. Takhaṇḍa-Kaccha Kṣetra with Royal proprietary rights; S. a small water fall (Pānīya Prapāta) of no great

height and situated near Varali (village); W. Madhu Vṛkṣa (Madhuka tree); and N. Pānīya Prapāta (a water-fall) from the mountain.

The villages and the fields therefrom mentioned in items 7-15C above were granted to seven different Brahmins who hailed from places like Madhya-deśa, Karahāṭaka etc. by king Mummuṇi and a close study of them will prove very interesting. As regards the identification of the place names, many of them[8] have already been located by Dr. Mirashi from the maps; and with some emendations these may be tabulated as follows:

From the Abhyantara 66 *Viṣaya*:

Mulanda = Muḷund, a railway station on the Central railway about 2 miles S. W. of Thana.

Boriyalā = Borivli, another well-known railway station on the Western Railway, about 18 miles North of Bombay.

Kāḍhevalli-Paliikā = Kāndivali, about 2 miles West of Borivali as stated in the inscription.

Māne-grāma = situated to the east of Boriyalā and to be identified with Manori near Borivli.

Khānuvaḍā = Khānivḍe, to the east of Borivli, as stated.

From the Śūrpāraka 66 *Viṣaya*:

(Bri) hadaḍaṇikā = Dr. Mirashi has read this village name as Trihayaṇika and has identified it with Tiḷher, a village about 12 miles to the east of Sopāṛā. But from a photograph of this charter kindly lent to me by the Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Bombay, I read the name of this village as Vṛ(Bṛ)had-aḍaṇika. The first letter is quite clear denoting Vṛ for Bṛ; the second akṣara was wrongly spelt on the sheet of copper and has been restored to Ha by cancelling the wrong spelling. The third letter is wrongly read by Dr. Mirashi, as Ya. One akṣara after this has wrongly been dropped in Dr. Mirashi's reading. The correct name of the village as now read is Bṛhad-Aḍaṇika. This reading will be admisible when we notice that it is immediately followed by the village name Laghu Aḍaṇika, indicating thereby that two adjacent villages of the name of Aḍaṇika were distinguished fromeach other by the words Bṛhat and Laghu; a feature so commonly noticed in inscriptions of the same period.

Laghu-Aḍaṇikā = Small Aḍaṇikā. Both these villages are to be identified with Āḍaṇe, a village situated on the northern banks of the river

[8] Dr. Mirashi has identified Mulunda, Boriyala, Kadhevalli and Khanuvada from Abhyantara 66. His identification of Tilher Bhopad etc. do not appear to be satisfactory.

Tansa. A small rivulet separates or divides the village into two parts one of which was Laghu Aḍanikā and the other was Bṛhat-Aḍaṇika. Āḍaṇe is situated about 8½ miles to the east of Virar (for which see below).

Khaṇḍivali = Situated to the west of Aḍanikā; identified wtth Āḍaṇe as stated in the inscription.

Khānuvaḍā = situated to the north of Āḍaṇikā; lies about 1½ mile to the north of Āḍaṇe, as indicated.

Peḍhāla = Thirteen fields from this village have been donated in the inscription. Identified with the village Pelhār, about 8 miles N.N.E. of Bassein, well-known for the ruins of ancient temples and the pindspot of a Śilāhāra inscription as noted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, p. 401. This place is again mentioned in the Bassein stone inscription of Ślāhāra Mallikārjuna, dated Saka 1083 and edited in *Epi. Indica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 276. The editors of the inscription read in lines 14-15 as follows: "*Gurukula .... ka ṭashaḍi vishayāṁta(ḥ)pāti Peḍhāla sakasa lona-vāṭake*" In view of the mention of Peḍhāla as situated in the Śūrpāraka 66 viṣaya in the Thana charter of Mummuṇi the reading there has to be restored as "....*Gurukule (Sopāra) ka Shashṭhivishayāntaḥ-pāti Peḍhāla-satka sa..lona vāṭake*"

Uppala-pallikā, situated close to Vīrāra = Virāra, identified with modern Virar, a subarban railway station on the Western Railway, about 3 miles north of Sopara. Uppala-pallikā, the hamlet, is now absorbed in the village Virār.

The charter mentions the following geographical features: Parvata (15-B) = a mountain; Parvatikā (13-A) = a smaller mountain; Ḍongarikā (11-A, 13-A) = a small hillock; Ṣtembha (10-B) = a low mound. In respect of tanks and rivers the following words are used: Taṭāka(11-C, 12) or Taḍāga (14) for a big tank and Taḍāgikā (12-A, 13-A) for a smaller one. Kṣāra-nadī (11, 11-B) is a river with saltish water; Laghu-vāhalikā (10-A) is a small stream; Oḍaṁbhṛika (15-A) is brook making a rattling noise; Khajjana[9] (11, 11-B) is a salty land in low laying areas near the sea. Uṣara (9) is a similar salty land known as Khār on the Western sea-board; Waterfalls are indicated by the word Pānīya-prapāta (9-A, 11-A, 11-B, 15-C and 15-C). Pāṣāṇa-śṛṅkhalikā (9) probably refers to a peculiar geological formation of rocks in which small boulders of stone appear as placed one above another due to erosion of soil and is therefore referred to as forming a chain of stones. Nikhāta-pāṣāṇas (9) are large stone

[9] For Khajjana in inscriptions, see note by Dr. D. C. Sircar, in *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 53.

blocks from quarries; Many such blocks are still to be seen in the vicinity of Tungar Hill near Sopara.

Coming to the boundaries of various fields mentioned in this copper plate charter we find that many of them are indicated by their ownership. We get amongst them the following names:

Va(Ba)ṭuka Keśavaiya (7); Vo(Bo)lathai Bhaṭṭārikā (7); Vipra Tikkamva(mba)iya (7); Vipra Dāupaiya (8); Vishṇu Nārāyaṇa Deva (8-B) Kuṭumvi(mbi)ka Pamvu(mbu)va (8-B); Khojja Vā(Bā)dala (13); and Mājhila-vāvā (Bābā). The mention of Bolathai Bhaṭṭārikā, the female owner of a field is very interesting. Of special interests the name Khojja Vā(Bā)dala, who apparently belongs to the Khojā community of the Muslims, *probably referred to for the first time in Indian inscriptions.* It indicates that Shia muslims were fairly well settled on the western sea-coast about the time of this inscription. The fields of one Jogeśvara Bhaṭṭa are mentioned thrice (15, 15 and 15-A).

Quite a large number of trees are denoted as forming the boundaries of some fields and sometimes the fields themselves are known by the trees grown in them. Of the former we have Abhiṭṭhā-vṛkṣa (8) the Abheṭā tree which resembles the Banyan which is commonly noticed in Konkan. Cincā trees are mentioned in 8A and 15A. Item 9 mentions one tamarind tree in association with Aśvattha (i. e. Pimpala). Aśvattha is again independently mentioned in 9, which also contains references to Nyagrodh a (*Ficus Religiosa*) and Khadira (*Acecia catechu*) trees. Madhu-Vṛkṣa mentioned in 11, 15 and 15 C apparently refers to the mahua tree (*Madhuca latifola*) which is common enough in Indian Literature and inscriptions.[10] Fields containing Madhu-Madhuka trees are mentioned in Madhu Kṣetra (9) and Madhuka Kṣetra (10 A). A Kadamba tree is found as a boundary of field in 9. The Vaṭa or the Banyan tree is mentioned in 11 and 11A. A Toraṇi Kṣetra (9A) apparently refers to the Toraṇi tree which bears sweet fruits, and which grows wildly in Konkan area. Piṁpalavāya Kṣetra (11A) is named after the Piṁpala trees grown in it. A Jambuvaṭi Kṣetra (10) is evidently known after the Jambu trees. Kusumbholi Kṣetra (11, 11. 11A, 11B) has probably a reference to the Kusumba tree. With the exception of Abiṭṭhā and Toraṇi trees, the mention of the rest of the trees is quite common in Indian literature of inscriptions.

Attention may here be drawn to another boundary name indicated as Viraka (lines 81-82, 85, 88, 89) and its dimunitive Viraīkā (8) A corresponding

[10] Cf. References cited in the article on the Wooden Pillar at Kirari, in *Ancient India*, No. 6, pp. 19-20 for literary references; Cf. line 25 of Mahoba Plates of Paramardi-deva, in *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 9-15.

name Virā also occurs in the Chanji stone[11] inscription of Śilāhāra Someśwar, Śaka 1182. It appears that the word Viraka or Virā has not been satisfactorily explained hitherto, though it was earlier noticed in the Riddhapur Plants[12] of Nala Bhavadattavarman. It is understood there as standing for a suburb[13] which hardly conveys the sense intended. Lines 11-20 of this inscription read, "*Grāmasya Uttareṇa parvvataḥ vishayasi*(*sī*)*māntiko karmmantakena saha māluka-virakaḥ madhuka-latikā piṇḍiraka-vṛikshena baka-sāmalakaṁ tri-mandaraścha virakaḥ rājya-sīmeti* and the references to several trees show that the word Viraka is closely connected with trees than any village or suburb as indicated by the translator of the record. Monier Williams' Dictionary gives "A banana orchard" as the meaning of the word Viraka which is ideally suited to the context both in the Nala inscription and the references from Silāhāra inscriptions cited above. Viraka or its equivalent Virā in these inscriptions therefore stands for Plantain groves, a condition which is fulfilled by the Thana district even to this day. Some Marathi dictionaries also give " a brook " as the meaning of Virā, but the context shows that Viraka should be taken as a Banana Grove. Viraīkā (8) is a dimunitive of Viraka.

Coming to the different names of the fields we find that some of the terminations have a specific significance. We find that item 9 donates two *Poṇḍā* fields. In the present day Konkan the rice fields are distinguished into three categories according to their sizes or the quality of grains produced in them; and are called Pāṭi, Poṇḍhe and Choṇḍhe. Pāṭi is the largest, Poṇḍhe is medium sized while Choṇḍhe represents the smallest rice field. The two Poṇḍha fields in the charter evidently refer to the medium sized ones. The name of another Poṇḍhā field recorded in the charter is Vaula-Poṇḍhā (8B). It is likely that the field-names Bhābhoṇḍhā (9A), Koñchoroṇḍhā (12A, 14) and Jaluvoṇḍhā (12A, 14) are related to this class of fields. Another field-name which distinguishes itself from its topographical features is what is known by the term "*Choḷ*". This name is given to a field which is situated in a low lying area in between two flat emminences and our charter refers to these by a Sanskrit rendering as "Choli-Kshetra". One such appears under 10A, but the name is common among other Śilāhāra inscriptions also. One 'Vijñāni-coli-kṣetra' is mentioned in the Berlin Museum copper plate of Chchhittarāja;[14] while another 'Māne-choli-kshetra' is indicated in the Baroda Museum[15] Plates (Set A) of Aparājitadeva. Dhāpaḍa is yet another technical term which deserves mention in this connection. This name is given to small rice fields situated on Māḷ or

[11] *Epi. Ind.*. Vol. XXIII, pp. 279-81.

[12] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIX. pp. 100-104.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 104, f.n. 2.

[14] *Z.D.M.G.*, Band 90, p. 265 ff.

[15] A. S. Gadre, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State* (Baroda, 1943), pp. 35-64.

flattish lands, and are of a very inferior quality as they do not retain much water and as such get dried up very quickly. The Thāpaḍa kṣetras mentioned twice in 12 apparently refer to such fields. Vāḍa-kṣetra, mentioned in 8, is similarly to be equated with Āvāḍa-kṣetras of the present day. "Āvāḍa" rice fields are generally watered by a small rivulet and these can be emptied by letting the water out through the embankments. Sāliyapa Kṣetra (12, 13·) is apparently named after Śāli or Sāli rice grown in it. The Nihura Kṣetras, mentioned in 8A and 8B, are very inferior types of lands, as Nihura is a name given to sandy lands on the sea-shore (Puḷan = Skt. Pulina). Veḍhi is the ending of three field names indicated by Koṭṭhāra-veḍhi Kṣetra (7), Āgara-veḍhi Kṣetra (11C) and Chaṇe-veḍhi Kṣetra (15B). Vedhi corresponds to Veṣṭita in Sanskrit and it is possible to infer that these fields were surrounded by or were in the vicinity of a Koṣṭhāgāra, by orchards (Āgara = a coconut grove); Chaṇe-veḍhi was possibly so named after grams that were sown in it. Āgara in the sense of a grove appears in the Uran Inscription of Someśwara,[16] Śaka 1182. No explanation is necessary for the Kaccha appelations indicated by 15C, and in Bendari-kaccha (10A) and in Takhaṇḍa-kaccha (1C) Kṣetras.

The interpretation of other fields like Ādhavāīlā (15B), Ardha pāda (11C), Bhaṁvani-vāha (12), Deīyalā (12, 13, 13). Kavaḍocchi (13A), Kaṇi (13A), Khānu (11A 14), Khānuvala (8B), Māni (10), Nāṇe-vāya (9A), Siṁghala-dwīpa (9), Talāvaṭi (11C), Utteśravā (10B), Vāṅkaḍi (9), Vārasaunda (10), Veḍevāpa (9A) etc., is uncertain. Siṁghala-dwīpa is apparently after the famous island of Ceylon; Ardhapāda may be from the produce. In respect of others it is not possible to be sure.

A Survey of ancient field-names occurring in this charter of Mummuni and in other Śilāhāra records thus shows that (i) these were named after the owners, (ii) after the trees which were grown in them, (iii) from their sizes, (iv) from the type of soil or watering facilities available; or (v) from the villages themselves. Of the last named category there is no example in the present inscription but confirmation of this practice is obtained in the Bhadane Plates[17] of Aparajita, Saka 919, where a field named Bhinnāra Kṣetra is cited. Though the reading was quite clear on the impressions Dr. Fleet who edited the record puts a querry before the word Bhi (?) and no explanation of it was given. On consulting the necessary topographical sheets one is able to locate a village named Bhinnār, very close to Paḍigaha (= Podgha) mentioned in the grant and it is thus evident that the field was named after the village.

The present grant shows that the words Poṇḍhā. Choli, Thāpaḍa, Nihura, Vāḍa etc., were used in A.D. 1059 and their usage is stili current in the local dilect.[18]

---

[16] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 280, (Ins. E).

[17] *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 271ff.

[18] For discussions on certain modern field names in Konkan I have to acknowledge help from Sri R. V. Dighe, of Khopoli.

WHAT IS UPAHVARA?

By

B. H. KAPADIA, Vallabh Vidyanagar

To interpret and to fix up the exact significance of words occurring in the Ṛg-veda is sometimes very difficult. It is more so when the word occurs in a few passages. The method that is at our disposal is to collect all these passages together, see the etymology, take help of the context, and to take help of the science of comparative philology and other ancillary help that is available. Let us try to ascertain the exact connotation of the word Upahvara by taking into consideration the passages in which this word is occuring. In the Ṛg-veda this word occurs at five places. They are: I.62.6; I.87.2; 8-6.28, 69.6 and 96.14. Hermann Grassmann in his Wörterbuch Zum Rig-veda, 3rd ed. 1955 on p. 259 gives the following accounts:—

Upahvara, m., (1) Gewolbte Vertiefung (des Somagefässes), (2) Herniederneigung, Abhang [von hvṛ with upa], mit Gen.girīṇām, nadias. The word means inclination, slope, declivity. In classical Sanskrit the word means secretly, privily, in the neighbourhood, in the vicinity. This meaning cannot however be applied to the word in the Ṛg-veda. In the Ṛg-veda it means something that is concrete. About this sense there is no scope for difference of opinion. In the abridged PW its vedic meaning is given as slope of a mountain or the bed of a river. Geldner in Ved. Stud. 3.43 ff. has given a detailed investigation of this word. As a result of this in his Glossary he brings forth the following senses:—

lap, bosom 8.96.14, seat of the chariot I.87.2, cave, cavern, hole, hollow 8.69.6, I.62.6, vicinity 8.6.28. For I.62.6 he provides the sense hollow, cave, cavern with a question mark. In the Ṛg-veda thus the word occurs at these five places only.

I.62.6 praises Indra thus:—

तदु प्रयक्षतममस्य कर्म दस्मस्य चारुतममस्ति दंसः ।
उपह्वरे यदुपरा अपिन्वन् मध्वर्णसो नद्य१ श्चतस्रः ॥

It is quite probable, that in these five places the word can have different meanings. But such a conclusion appears to be hardly trustworthy. Geldner in his Ü. has simplified such a sense disposition.

Perhaps, the most clear sense of Upahvara comes out in 8.96. 13-15. In v. 13 it is stated that the drops fall into the Aṃśumatī. In v. 15 it is stated

that the sparkling one is held in the lap of Aṃśumatī (Aṃśumatyā upasthe). Whereas, it is stated in v. 14. द्रप्समपश्यं विषुणे-चरन्तं उपह्वरे नद्यो अंशुमत्याः। Still, one must not deduce at any rate from this, that Upahvare completely concurs with Upasthe. If one observes that Upahvara is a derivation from hvar " to bend, to curve, to crumble " then one ought to say that here it signifies the hollow, cavity, which is formed by the shore of the river. Thus, v. 14 is : " I saw the drops go astray in the bed of the river Aṃśumatī.[1]

Even in 8.69.6 upahvara is ' hollow, cavity '. The cows have milked out the admixture of milk to Indra, the bearer of the thunderbolt, the sweet drink which he found in the cavity. H. Luder believed that Geldner and before him Ludwig have justification to bring a connection of upahvara with Vala.

In 8.6.28 Upahvare means something like " in the cavity, in the ravine, gorge ". It is probable, on account of the addition of Girīṇām. This appears to be conclusive, justifiable.

In 1.87.2 there can be no talk of the chariot. The Maruts have loaded it in the lap. The first half of the stanza can be translated as: " O Maruts, Like birds, along any path, you have resolved the journey in the caverns." Here one ought to remember that the poet of 8.94.12 calls the Maruts as, the band of Maruts strong as the bull and dwelling on the mountain.[2] That one should ascribe to the Maruts a residence on the mountain concerned with the observation of the natural phenomenon. Hillebrandt (Ved. Mythol. ii 272) is justified when he assigns the time of the south west monsoon as the time of the sovereignty of the Maruts. Then the wind drives the clouds fiom the delta of the Indus towards the spur of the mountain Himalaya and there they relieve themselves of the burden so that they create the impression as if the Maruts breakforth from the mountain.

Let us first turn to 1.62.6. The explanation which Geldner has given for this verse in his Ved. Stud. 3.44ff. may not be reproduced here in detail since he

[1] Even in the Epic M.Bh. upahvara is used in this sense. Cf. M.Bh. 3.309.4 : ऊर्मितरङ्गैर्जाह्नव्याः समानीतमुपह्वरम्. (about the box in which Karṇa swims from the Aśvanadī in the Gaṅgā).

[2] There are innumerable passages in which the activity of the Maruts is described as happening in the mountain. *e.g.* They make the mountain tremble (1.39.5), they shake them (5.57.3), they make them resound (1.166.5), they plough it up in furrows with the felly of the chariot (1.64.11), with might they break the mountains by means of the felly of the chariot (5.52.9), in their journey they make them fall down (5.56.4), their horses make the sources of the mountains fall down (5.59.7), the mountains shake and tremble from their fear (5.60.2-3), the mountains bend low screamingly to him (5.54.9).

himself seems to have given it up afterwards at least, in some part. According to his Ü., the master work of Indra should consist of this *viz.* he makes the four sweet streaming rivers pregnant (milk-swelled) in their bed. While explaining it Geldner observes that "apinvat *i.e.* lending payaḥ". That the content of the heavenly rivers is often named as milk (payaḥ) is naturally justified. But cannot apinvat here simply mean he makes to swell? The lap, the embryo of the river is its source. Geldner describes it thus in his Kommentar. From the notes in Ü. it cannot be asserted with certainty whether Geldner holds fast to this conception. Since, here it is only said: The laps (or the udders) of the rivers are thought as of women or cows. That rivers are represented as women or cows is again significantly right. But from where has he seen the sexy reference which he has seen in our passage? The use of upahvara can not prove this. In the vedic interpretation of words Geldner usually falls a victim to this sort of mechanical word comparison. From 8.96.16 it follows that upahvara can be exactly the same as upastha. But this cannot be accepted. If we were to accept this then upastha can have this meaning even in other passages a simple transposition of the sense of upahvara. But this is wrong. The origin, the source, of a river can probably be named as the udder of the mountain but scarcely as the udder of the river.

Upahvara otherwise is everywhere the same as cavity, cavern. 1.62.6 can be translated as:—"That is your most glorious deed, the exquisite marvel of the marvel worker, that he makes to swell among the rivers the four rivers that swell with honey (madhu)". Since the rivers are expressly designated as uparāḥ so the upahvara must necessarily lie higher than that and it is quite probable that in upahvara there may be an expression for a container of water in the highest heaven. Even the marvellous deed of Indra consists in this that he makes the four rivers to swell at their original source or in other words, he fills the original source so that the rivers flowing out from that swell with water. Our stanza stands in no close association with the Vṛtra fight. This is quite clear, since here there is the mention of the four rivers a fact which never occurs in the description of the Vṛtra fight. The four rivers can be those four rivers which flow from the main source in the highest heaven. Probably, from this, the number four allows to conclude, towards the four directions. Thus Indra is celebrated as the organiser of the world and to this thoroughly agrees the surrounding in which the verse occurs. In verses 3-5[b] Indra is glorified in the first instance as the breaker of Vala then his other deeds are enumerated:—He has extended the backs of the earth (5[c]), he has supported the lower region of the heaven (5[d]), he has unveiled heaven and earth and made them firm in the highest heaven (7), he has regulated the change from day to night (8), he has placed white hot milk in the black and red cows (9), and just like this stanza 6 he is again praised four times as the worker of miracle (cf. sudaṃsāḥ v. 7, 9 and

dasma v. 5 and II). Thus description of the wonderful deeds go far beyond that which are otherwise ascribed to him at the conclusion of his victory over Vṛtra and at the time of opening of Vala.

H. Luder has tried to fix up the meanings of the two words pratihvara and abhihvara based on upahvara. These two cognate words pratihvara and abhihvara are set aside by Geldner. The former word occurs in 7.66.14. Harmann Grassmann in his wörterbuch p. 870 gives the following information. The word is masculine, is derived from hvr with prati and means Gewölbe oder dessen abhang *i.e.* vault or its slope. उदु त्यत् दर्शतं वपुर्दिव एति प्रतिह्वरे can be translated as: " there ascends that lovely body on the slope of the heaven". A.V. 6.76.3 नाभिह्वारे पदं निदधाति स मृत्यवे can be rendered as: " He does not place his foot on the steep path of death." Prākṛt pabbhāra " slope " can lead back to prahvāra, a glorious etymology. Pischel shows his misgivings about it without any justification. It is further self-evident, that upahvara is derived from upa with hvr. In glossary, Geldner himself has assigned the sense to hvr " to clip, to lop ". To this upahvara will agree thoroughly if it designates a place where the land runs into the river or the steep coast of the land runs into the ocean. But Geldner's meaning of upa hvarate as upatiṣṭhate in 1.141.1 is not correct. The meanings 'rahas[1] and antike' of upahvara in later Sanskrit can be derived from cavity, hollow without difficulties.

Having examined the word (upahvare and upahvareṣu) occurring in the above mentioned five passages we can make the following observations. The word upahvara occurs in the loc. sing. and pl. loc. sing. occurs in four passages and loc. pl. occurs in only one passage *viz.* 1.87.2. Out of the four passages in which it occurs in the loc. sing. it is connected twice with rivers (1.62.6, 8.96.14) and once with the mountains in the pl. (8.6.28). The word thus occurs in the first and the eigth Maṇḍala only. It is found twice in the first Maṇḍala and thrice in the eigth Maṇḍala.

It is quite probable that one and the same word can have different meanings at different places. The diversity in the meanings can be determined by the context. To determine the sense of a word one should take help of all possible material that is available. Even in the Nirukta Yāska has tried to give the etymologies of vedic words based on the classical words and vice versa. Therefore, to fix up the meaning or the meanings of the word upahvara we take the help that is afforded to us by the important lexicons.

Kalikālasarvajña Hemacandrācārya in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Martyakāṇḍa v. 741 explains उपह्वरम् as रहश्छन्नमुपह्वरम्. He has not noted abhihvara and pratihvara.

---

[1] चम्पूभारत १.३० a. we have: उवाच देवीमुचितं स पाण्डुरुपह्वरे जातुचिदूढदक्षः। The com. explains the word उपह्वरे एकान्ते।

Sanskrit-English Dictionary of Prin. V. S. Apte, Vol. I, 1957, writes :—अभिह्वर-ह्वार a falling off, crooked, -रः crookedness, sin, नाभिह्वरे पदं निदधाति A. V. 6.76.3. On p. 469 :—उपह्वरः (1) A solitary or lonely place, privacy, उपह्वरे पुनरित्यशिक्षयं धनमित्रम् DK. 54, in secret—2 proximity, गत्वैका कथयामास क्षत्रियाणामुपह्वरे Mb. I. 179.23, उपह्वरे समानाय्य Śiva B. 15.27 (रहोऽन्तिकमुपह्वरे), -रः Ved.-Bend, curve, slope 2 declivity; उपह्वरे यदु परा अपिन्वन् RV 1.62.6. 3 The curved form of the Soma vessel. 4 A car.

In the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta there is no information regarding these words.

Halāyudhakośa alias Abhidhānaratnamālā writes on p. 178 :—उपह्वरम् क्ली [उपह्वरन्त्यत्र उप + ह्व + घ] निर्जनस्थानम्, RV. 8.6.28 (उपह्वरे गिरीणाम्) निकटम् (791) उर्मिप्रवाहैर्जाह्नव्याः समानीतमुपह्वरम् M.Bh. 3.309.4 सर्वानाहूय उपह्वरे वैद्यान् इति हर्षचरिते। पुं. [उप + ह्व + घ] रथः, प्रान्तभागः; उपह्वरेषु......पथा। R.V. 1.87.2

Amarakoṣa 3.183 writes :—रहोऽन्तिकमुपह्वरे। उपह्वरन्त्यत्र ह्व कौटिल्ये (भ्वा. प. अ.) पुंसि (३. ३. ११८) (3.3.118) इति घः। यत्तु गह्वरवदुपह्वरम् इति मुकुटे नाभाणि। तन्न। छित्वरादावस्य पाठाभावात्। उपह्वरं समीपे स्यादेकान्ते च नपुंसकम् (इति मेदिनी). Here also the other two words are not noted.

Let us now turn to the help that is given to us by the com. of Sāyaṇācārya on these passages. On 1.62.6 :—उपह्वरे उपह्वर्तव्ये गन्तव्ये पृथिव्याः संबन्धिनि समीपदेशे।

On 1.87.2 :—उपह्वरेषु उपह्वर्तव्येषु गन्तव्येष्वस्माकं संनिकृष्टेषु नभसः प्रदेशेषु।

On 8.6.28 :—उपह्वरे उपह्वर्तव्ये प्रान्ते.....देशे।

On 8.69.6 :—उपह्वरे समीपे वर्तमानम्।

On 8.96.14 :—उपह्वरे अत्यन्तं गूढं स्थाने।

About प्रतिह्वरे on 7.66.14 he writes :—प्रतिह्वरे समीपे।

Śabdakalpadruma prathama kāṇḍa (1887) gives on p. 262 :—उपह्वरं निर्जनस्थानम् (यथा ऋग्वेदे 8.6.28) उपह्वरे गिरीणाम्), निकटम् इत्यमरः M.Bh. 3.308.4 and Harṣacarita 5th Ucchvāsa. उपह्वरः पुं. (उप + ह्व + घ) रथः इत्युणादिकोषः (प्रान्तभागः यथा ऋग्वेदे 1.87.2.

Sanskrit-Wörterbuch of O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, Erster Theil, 1852-55 gives on 354: अभिह्वर adj. abfalland, abschlussig, नाभिह्वरे पदं नि दधाति स मृत्यवे der setzt den fuss nicht auf den abschuusigen Pfad Zum Tod, A.V. 6.76.3.

On p. 984: उपह्वर (from ह्वर् with उप) m. 1 Wölbung, Bucht, Abfall, Abhang, (मञ्जूषां जाह्नव्याः समानीतमुपह्वरम् M.Bh. 3.17156; 2 n. Nähe, AK 3.4.185, H.an 4.242, Med.r 252; उपह्वरे in der Nähe, nahebei, M.Bh. 1.6364; 12.961; 15.176. कथयामास क्षत्रियाणामुपाह्वरे in der Nähe der K. *i.e.* den K. 3.683; प्रह्वोऽभवत् भ्रातुउपह्वरे सः Arg 1.5; 3 n. einsamer ort AK.H.741 an Med; 4 m. Wagen Uṇādik in SKdr.

Thus the Sanskrit-Wörterbuch notes the following meanings of the words अभिह्वर and उपह्वर :—sloping, declivetous, steep, arch-bend, inlet, bay, creek, proximity, vicinity, neighbouring, a lonely place and a chariot respectively.

Vierter Theil, 1862-65, p. 987 writes about प्रतिह्वर (from ह्वर् with प्रति) m. ansteigende höhe, hang उदु त्यत् दर्शतं वपुर्दिव एति प्रतिह्वरे 7.66.14. It means: ascending height, slope, declivity.

We have taken into consideration most of the important sources that can give us information about the meanings of these words. From the above sources, if we were to take a resumé, of the several meanings of the word upahvara in particular then we can enumerate them as follows:—The curved form of the Soma-vessel, bending or curving low, slope, declivity, secretly, privily, in the neighbourhood, in the vicinity, lap, bossom, chariot, seat of the chariot, cave, cavern, hole, hollow.

To get a clear perspective, it is necessary to jot down these five passages also. They are:—

1.62.6: तदु प्रयक्षतममस्य कर्म दस्मस्य चारुतममस्ति दंसः ।
उपह्वरे यदुपरा अपिन्वन् मध्वर्णसो नद्यश्चतस्रः ॥

1.87.2: **उपह्वरेषु** यदचिध्वं ययिं वय इव मरुतः केन चित् पथा ।
श्चोतन्ति कोशा उप वो रथेष्वा.

8.6.28 **उपह्वरे** गिरीणां संगथे च नदीनाम् । धिया विप्रो अजायत ॥

8.69.6 इन्द्राय गाव आशिरं दुदुहे वज्रिणे मधु । यत् सीमुपह्वरे विदत् ॥

8.96.14: द्रप्समपश्यं विषुणे चरन्तमुपह्वरे नद्यो अंशुमत्याः ॥

Now, taking into consideration the senses noted down in the com. of Sāyaṇa, we can observe that Sāyaṇa also favours neighbouring near region, a hidden place as the meaning of the word upahvara.

Keeping in front of us these passages, the com. of Sāyaṇa and the various senses that we have noted in the resumé it appears very likely that some of the classical senses like chariot, the seat of the chariot are not applicable to these vedic passages. Among the five passages, in particular, 1.87.2 cannot have the meaning chariot for the word upahvara in view of the fact that the word 'Ratha' already occurs in the stanza itself. Similarly, the classical senses *viz.* secretly, privily are not applicable to the word upahvare in view of the context and the enviroments. The meaning "curved form of the soma-vessel" is also not plausible in view of the situation of the word in the passage and the context also does not support this. There is no occasion of Soma to be thought of here. Upahvar occurring in 8.6.28 can have the senses slope, declivity, cave, cavern on account of the word गिरीणाम्. Similarly, the occurrence of the word river or water in two passages 1.62.6 and 8.96.14 "cave, cavern, hollow" appear to be quite suitable. Thus, to come to a conclusion, the classical senses are not plausible, and as regards the vedic senses the word can connote something that is cave-like that has hollowness.

Can upahvara mean valley ? We have already made these observations that (1) certain classical senses are not applicable to vedic upahvara, (2) upahvara means something that is concrete and not an abstract entity, and (3) it can mean cave, cavern or hollow. Thus, cave-like hollow is a suitable meaning. Can this conception be not taken as a valley ? For, in Avesta (Yasna 10.3.4, 11.12.17) Hoama is described as growing on mountains, growing on heights, from which it was carried through the mid-air to the white mountains. The stalk is yellow (Zairi) in colour and grows in heaps (Ved. Mthyo. A. Hillebrandt, p. 242). From the last passage it appears that Hoama grows both on the mountains and in the valleys. Can not "upahvara" at least in 8.6.28 mean a valley ? Here the verses 28 and 29 are knit to-gether closely. But on this score it is not necessary that they should have the same subject. V. 28 may apply to Soma whose birth place is mountains and the rivers. Even the com. on VS. 26.15 connects the stanza with Soma. There it occurs with other stanzas dealing with Soma. Sāyaṇa, however, applies v. 28 to Indra. R.V.5.85. 2 and T.S.I.2.8.1 state that Varuṇa has placed mental strength in the hearts, Agni in the waters, the Sun in the Heaven and Soma on the mountains, R.V.1. 91.4 speaks about the various habitations (dhāmāni) of Soma. They are: Heaven, Earth, Vegetations and water. Now, in 8.6.28 उपह्वरे पर्वतानां संगथे च नदीनाम् । can have reference to Soma growing in the valleys of mountains. That upahvara can have the meaning of valley can be corroborated only by the Avesta.

KUSUMANAGARA OF THE HISTORICAL GĀTHĀ OF THE CAṆḌAKAUŚIKA

By

DASHARATHA SHARMA, Delhi

The following is one of the verses from Ārya-Kṣemīśvara's *Caṇḍa-kauśika*, about the meaning of which historians have so far reached no unanimity :—

> *Yaḥ saṁsṛtya prakṛtigahanāmārya-Cāṇakya-nītiṁ*
> *jitvā Nandān Kusumanagaraṁ Candragupto jigāya* ।
> *Kārṇāṭatvaṁ dhruvamupagatān = adya tāneva hantuṁ*
> *dordarpāḍhyaḥ sa punarabhavacchrī-Mahīpāladevaḥ* ॥

"He, who, by resorting to the naturally astute policy of noble Cāṇakya, defeated the Nandas and conquered Kusumapura, has now again become the mighty-armed[1] illustrious Mahīpāladeva, with a view to destroying the Nandas who have surely now been reborn as Kārṇāṭas."

The following are some of the interpretations proposed so far :—

(a) A. B. Keith, Pischel, Sten Konow, Hoernle, R. C. Majumdar and S. K. De saw in the above verse a reference to Mahīpāla Pratihāra of Kannauj who fought against the Kārṇāṭa, *i.e.*, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, invader, Indra III, and ultimately succeeded not only in reconquering Kannauj but also re-establishing his supremacy over Āryāvarta.

(b) Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggested that Mahīpāla Pratihāra's enemies should be identified not with the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan but with a section of the clan which, after being squeezed out of Central India as a result of the increase in the power of the Candellas, had established a Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in Bihar. It was Mahīpāla who, in the beginning of the tenth century, brought about the fall of this kingdom.[2]

(c) Dr. R. D. Banerji identified Mahīpāla of the drama with Mahīpāla of the Pāla dynasty (c. 974-1026 A.D.) and the Kārṇāṭas with the invading forces of Rājendra Cola.[3] Identification with the Pāla ruler has recently been advocated also by D. D. Kosambi.

(d) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri criticised Dr. Banerji's view. He pointed out the fact that Rājendra Cola's army suffered no defeat at the hands of Mahīpāla of Bengal. So there could have been no question of avenging an

[1] Literally "one rich in the pride of one's arms".

[2] *Sir Ashutosh Mookerji Jubilee Vol. Orientalia*, Pt. 2, pp. 559 ff.

[3] *Pālas of Bengal* p. 73; *JBORS.*, XIV, p. 512 f.

old injury. Further, the Cola army consisted not of Kārṇāṭas but of Tamilians. Explaining away this discrepancy by saying that the people of Bengal could not distinguish the Tamilians from the Kārṇāṭas would be doing injustice to their geographical knowledge. Nor does Prof. Sastri agree with Dr. Aiyangar. According to him the reference to Candragupta Maurya's operations in Magadha should not have led Dr. Aiyangar to conclude that Bihar was also the area in which Mahīpāla had to operate against his enemies.[4] " The whole point of a comparison is, and here it is the similarity underlying the *utprekṣā* of the verse that there is some *sādṛśya* in the midst of difference.....and the *sādṛśya* in the comparison is really to be sought in the exile of the king from his country by the success of his enemies and his regaining possession of it by diplomacy and foreign aid." [5]

We agree with the scholars who identify Mahīpāla of the drama with Mahīpāla Pratihāra of Kannauj, our reasons being largely the same as those advanced by Prof. Sastri. We agree also with his contention that *utprekṣā* of the type found in Kṣemīśvara's verse quoted above or rather of any type whatsoever, never involves resemblance in every respect. But to exclude on any such general ground one more point of comparison, *i.e.*, the capture of Kusumanagara by both Candragupta Maurya and Mahīpāla Pratihāra would be unfair, if, of course, there be reasonable grounds for the conclusion that these rulers had something to do with the town. Dr. Aiyangar thought of the comparison, but put the scene of Mahīpāla's operation against the Kārṇāṭas in Bihar, as he could think of Kusumanagara only as Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha. Had he kept in view the fact that more than one town was known as Kusumanagara, he might have come to a different conclusion. It is well-known that Pāṭaliputra bore the name Kusumapura,[6] perhaps because of Pāṭali being a *kusuma* or flower. But what is generally forgotten is that Kannauj also had once the same designation. The name Kusumapura has been recorded by the seventh century pilgrim, Yuan Chwang[7]. *Puṣpāhvaya-nagara* of Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscriptions also might be Kannauj according to some scholars; and the appropriateness of

[4] *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, VI, pp. 191-198 and *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 354-356.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Kālidāsa calls it Puṣpapura, *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 24. That this old name, however, was falling in disuse by the middle of the seventh century can be seen from Yuan Chwāng's account (Beal, II, pp. 82-83).

[7] Beal, pp. 207-209.

[8] Even now Kannauj is full of flowers and is the chief centre of the *itar* (Indian scent) industry. Kannauj was known also as Mahodaya, Kuśasthala, Gādhinagara etc.

the name becomes obvious when we find Kannauj the centre of the famous *itr* (Indian scent) industry and one of the best-known flower-producing areas of India[8]. The comparison suggested by the capture of Kusumanagara could therefore have been very clear to an audience of the citizens of Kusumapura-Kannauj, who knew of both the Kusumapuras and also of the exploits of Candragupta Maurya and their ruler. And it may even be that it was the double signification of Kusumanagara which led Kṣemīśvara to those flights of fancy, the correct interpretation of which is proving such a baffling task for students of Indian history. Once it is realised that Kusumanagara can be Pāṭaliputra as well as Kannauj, it would, I think, be easiar to identify Mahīpāla of the drama with Mahīpāla Pratihāra and to see also a good deal of aptness in the comparisons between Kusumanagara-Pāṭaliputra and Kusumanagara-Kannauj, Kārṇāṭas and Nandas, Mahīpāla Pratihāra and Candragupta Maurya and perhaps even between Ārya-Kṣemīśvara and Ārya-Cāṇakya.

UNPUBLISHED PRATIHĀRA REMAINS AT GHAṬIYĀLĀ, RAJASTHAN

By

R. C. AGRAWALA, Udaipur

The Political History of the Gurjara Pratihāras has been discussed in detail by a number of scholars including Drs. R. S. Tripathi, R. C. Majumdar, B. N. Puri,......etc. But very little is known about the contemporary art and architecture in Western Rajasthan except the detailed account of Temples at Osian by D. R. Bhandarkar. In fact exploration work and study of dated monuments in Jodhpur region are likely to yield very interesting results.

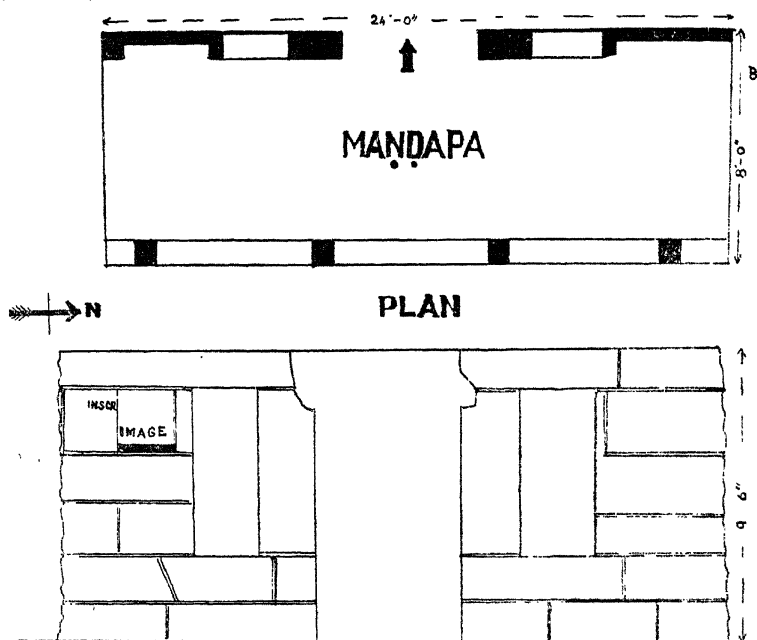
The Temples at Buchkalā (near Pīpāḍa, Jodhpur) are in a well preserved condition. One of them, bearing an inscription of *V.S.* 872 (= 815 A.D.) is worth scientific study as regards the simple architecture is concerned (*cf. E.I.*, IX, pp. 198-200).

Sarvatobhadra-Gaṇeśa :—It was more than 55 years ago that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar visited the site of *Ghaṭiyālā* (ancient *Rohiṃsakūpa*), situated about 25 or 30 miles from Jodhpur City. It is not connected by the regular bus-service but one takes only an hour in the jeep-car to reach the deserted site. A brief account of the Inscriptions on memorial stones, a Collosal pillar and a small stone-shed at Ghaṭiyālā was published by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of Archaeological Survey of Western Circle—Poona, year 1906-7*, pp. 34 ff. Among the group of the inscribed pillars here, noteworthy is the 15-20 feet high stone column standing in situ and bearing four inscriptions of *S. V. 918* (*E.I. IX*, pp. 279 ff.). It has been stated therein that this column was erected by Pratihāra ruler 'Kakkuka' himself for the benefit and prosperity of the businessmen of the locality. Still more important was the capital of this pillar as it depicted the four-faced image of Gaṇapati, each facing the cardinal directions. This type of *Sarvatodhadra-Gaṇapati* figure is quite unusual in the realm of ancient Indian Iconography. To my great surprise, I was shocked to have noticed a few parts of Gaṇapati capital lying on the ground in a mutilated condition when I visited[1] the site in early March, 1962. The aforesaid inscriptions of V.S. 918 invoke Gaṇapati in the form of *Vināyaka*. This column was raised after the region was made free from the panic of the *Ābhīra* tribe and as such it has been rightly called as a *Yaśa Stambha* in line 16 of Inscription No. 1 (*E.I.*, IX, p. 280).

---

[1] I am thankful to Shri Sagat Singh, Superintendent, Archaeology and Museums, Jodhpur, for having arranged this trip to Ghaṭiyālā for my study.

Dr. J. N. Banerjea[2], Alice Getty[3] and R. G. Bhandarkar[4] have already made a passing reference to this unique Pratihāra Pillar of the 9th century. The Ghaṭiyālā figure of Gaṇapati installed in a market (*haṭṭa*) place, perhaps marked his close association with success in trade as well. The cult of Gaṇapati appears to have been much more predominent at Ghaṭiyālā in comparison to that of *Dhanada-Kubera*, the presiding deity of wealth and riches.

About a dozen *Memorial Stones* nearby are also worth careful scrutiny regarding the simplicity of designs etc., at Ghaṭiyālā. The earliest of these is the *Satī Pillar* of V. S. 947 [D. R. Bhandarkar, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 39]; others are dated in V. S. 1082, 1090 etc. The latter group is associated with the Pratihāra descendants of *Karkuka*, probably Pratihāra ruler Kakkuka cited above. It is after him that this site is now popularly known as *Khākhū Deula i.e. devala* or *devakulikā* of Kakkuka. In that case it might have marked

SECTION ON A.B

Mātājīkī-Śāla at Ghaṭiyālā, near Jodhpur.

2 *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 1956, Calcutta, p. 356; *The Age of Imperial Kannauja*, Bombay 1955, p. 345.

3 *Gaṇeśa*, Oxford, 1936, p. 30.

4 *Vaishṇavism and Śaivism*, Strassburg, 1913, pp. 148-49.

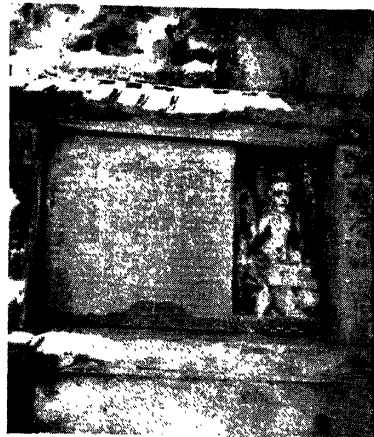
Mātā-ji-ki-Sāla at Ghaṭiyālā; V. S. 918

Left hand side niche of the Mātā-ji-ki-Sāla at Ghaṭiyālā

Image of Ambikā in the niche of Sāla at Ghaṭiyālā; 9th C.

A group of Pillars at Ghatiyālā. In the centre is the column bearing 4 inscriptions of V. S. 918

VRĀTYAS AND THE VEDIC SOCIETY

By

CHITRABHANU SEN, Calcutta

The Vrātyas are still considered as the disgraced, fallen men who, once belonged to the Hindu orthodoxy. But they neglected their religious duties and consequently, we are told by no less an authority than Manu, they became outcastes. They are *Sāvitrīpatitas* and they are condemned. Bodhāyana and Gautama are of the same opinion.

This view has also been upheld by all dictionaries. Monier-Williams says that the Vrātya is " a man of the mendicant or Vagrant class, a tramp, outcaste, low or vile person a man who has lost caste through non-observance of the ten principal Saṃskāras....".[1] Hara Prasad Sastri has related an interesting story in his brilliant monograph, Absorption of the Vrātyas. In 1901, Herbert Bisley, the Census Commissioner of Bengal proposed to determine the social order of the castes in Bengal and a committee was formed. But nobody was ready to accept any order lower than the other. Each claimed superiority over the others. The Kāyasthas claimed themselves to be Vrātya Kṣatriyas, the Kaivartas claimed to be Vrātya Vaiśyas and so on. Obviously they took pride in it because they thought that by the password vrātya they could elevate themselves to the higher castes or at least they could claim, they thought, that once upon a time they belonged to the higher castes.

Shivaji had to manufacture a genealogical list to show that he was a Vrātya Kṣatriya, a branch of the Sisodiyas of Chitor. Otherwise Shivaji, who was a śūdra, could not get himself coronated according to the Hindu rites.[2]

So far it appears that the meanings of the word Vrātya quoted above fits in with these accounts. But the Vrātyas were not at all fallen or vile persons as it is imagined to-day. We shall see presently that the Vrātyas were praised and glorified.

Apart from a few articles contributed by various scholars on the Vrātya problem, I. W. Hauer has studied this problem extensively. Unfortunately only the first volume of his work " Der Vratya " has so far appeared. But the solution of the problem suggested by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri has been, unfortunately, neglected.

Let us now go to the problem why the word Vrātya should mean a low or

---

1 Monier Monier Williams. Sanskṛt-English Dictionary, P. 1043, Col. 2.

2 Hara Prasad Sastri. Absorption of the Vrātyas, p. 2.

vile person who has lost his caste through non-observance of his primary duties (sāvitrīpatita)? The word cannot be derived from vrata, vow sacrament, by any rule of the Sanskrit grammar. Even if Vrātya is derivable from Vrata, it will only mean a person who adheres to his Vrata. How then Vrātya can be an outcaste? Satisfactory answer to this question is not readily available from any text where Vrātya occurs. The Sūtrakāras like Lāṭyāyana, Kātyāyana and their commentators have preferred to remain silent.

Vrātya, on the other hand, can be derived from Vrāta—Vrāte samavetā Vrātyāḥ. The word Vrāta, in the classical Sanskrit means, a group. The earliest reference to Vrāta occurs in the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā, while Vrātya is included in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha in the Yajurveda. But the Atharvaveda devotes an entire Kāṇḍa on the Vrātya, who is glorified and identified with the Supreme Being. Since the earliest reference to Vrāta, from which Vrātya has been derived, occurs in the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā, the earliest recorded evidence of the human society in India, let us proceed to examine what was the exact meaning of the word Vrāta. We shall quote a few stangas from the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā

(a) गिरा यदी सबन्धवः पञ्च व्राता अपस्यवः। परिष्कृण्वन्ति धर्णसिम् ॥ IX. 14.2

(b) पुनर्नः पितरो मनो ददातु दैव्यो जनः। जीवं व्रातं सचेमहि ॥ X. 57.5

(c) शर्धं शर्धं व एषां व्रातं व्रातं गणं गणं सुशस्तिभिः अनुक्रामेम धीतिभिः ॥ V. 53.11

(d) व्रातं व्रातं गणं गणं सुशस्तिभिरग्नेर्भामं मरुतामोज ईमहे। III. 26.6

(e) स्वादुषंसदः पितरो वयोधाः कृच्छ्रे श्रितः शक्तीवन्तो गभीराः।
चित्रसेना इषुबला अमृध्राः सतो वीरा उरवो व्रातसाहाः ॥ VI. 75.9

(f) यो वः सेनानीर्महतो गणस्य राजा व्रातस्य प्रथमो बभूव।
तस्मै कृणोमि न धना रुणध्मि दशाहं प्राचीस्तदृतं वदामि ॥ X. 34.12

(a) When five Vrātas along with their kins (सबन्धवः), desirous of performing pious rites, honour the supporter with praise.......

Therefore Vrāta, beyond any doubt, is distinctly recognised here as a social unit which holds within its fold the kinsmen. It is no ordinary congregation. The number of Vrātas is also mentioned.

(b) May our Fathers, may the Divine Jana grant thee soul. May we get the vigorous Vrāta.

Although Sāyaṇa takes दैव्यः जनः for host of gods, we shall see in the Vrātyastoma that दैव्य is used there in an altogether different sense दैव्य here qualifies जन, a term which required special attention. There is a tradional legend, recorded in the Anukramaṇi and quoted by Sāyaṇa, in connection with this hymn (X. 57).

Asamāti, an Ikṣvāku king, dismissed his four priests, who belonged to Gopāyanas (clan). Being dismissed the priests tried to injure the king, whose

newly appointed priests, therfore, killed one of the four priests. Here the comrades of the dead priest pray for revival of life. This is a priestly story no doubt but it is remarkable that the suppliants, while praying for regaining life, desire to obtain a vigorous Vrāta. The suggestion is that the Vrāta was so important a part of life that the suppliants could not believe that life could be complete without Vrāta.

(c) (O Maruts), we must follow the śardha (prowess ?), all the Vrātas and the gaṇas of yours (Vaḥ) as well as theirs (eṣām) with pious devotion.

Here Sāyaṇa is obviously, put into difficulty by two words, vaḥ and eṣām. Therefore he prefers to remain silent over eṣām. Because, according to later conception, " Vrāta is found in several passages of the Ṛgveda and later in the sense of 'troop' "—(Macdonell & Keith, Vedic Index, Vrāta)—and these " Troops " (śardha, vrāta and gaṇa) can, it is supposed, be ascribed to Maruts only. But here the word eṣām, which cannot be ignored, clearly indicates that the Vedic people were also, at a certain time, organised into these social units. This fact was forgotten in later times and therefore eṣām became untranslatable. Gaṇa, like Jana, requires special attention.

(d) We invoke the prowess of the Maruts, the brilliance of Agni with prayers for every Vrāta and Gaṇa.

(e) The Fathers delighting in the savoury (spoils of the enemies), distributors of food, protectors in calamity, powerful, resolute, possessing charming armies, strong in arrows, invincible, strong, robust, and conquerors of Vrātas.

This stanza occurs in a long hymn (vi. 75) in which weapons and equipments of war are praised. Here we find that not only the Vedic people were organised into Vrātas, their enemies were also composed of Vrāta.

(f) To him, who has become the general of your great Gaṇa and as leader has become the first (chief) of your Vrāta, I stretch forth my ten (fingers) and I withhold no money, this is truth I say.

If it is supposed that the famous Vedic gambler adresses the dice itself, the entire stanza will make no sense. How can the dice have Gaṇa and Vrāta ? The gambler is reduced to a pauper. But why should he confess this to the dice ? It does not make any sense.

Therefore the translation has to be changed. The confusion lies in the word vaḥ (your). Again we see that the commentators have failed to understand that the Gaṇa and Vrāta are spoken in respect of the Vedic people. It becomes more sensible if we suppose that the pauper gambler appeals to the leader of the Vrāta and the Gaṇa of the winners (vaḥ) and asks for their mercy.

It is clear from the passages cited above that Vrāta cannot be, as Sāyaṇa declared, अविवक्षितगणः व्रातः (v. 53.11). The Vrāta was a vigorous social force whose glory is sung by the Vedic poets.

But we have not tried so far to identify the Vrāta. It is also true that in the above passages and elsewhere real meaning of the Vrāta has never been clearly expressed. Lack of direct evidence has rendered the problem more difficult. The Vrāta problem along with many other problems cannot be profitably discussed without the social background of the Vedic people. It is needless to say that the Vedic society cannot be understood by our present-day social standards. The gulf of centuries that intervene between the Vedic society and ours has often led us astray. Even Yāska had to misinterpret many Vedic passages.

The origin of the Vedic people must have been, like all other people of the world, tribal. There are some scholars who will refuse to accept the proposition of tribal origin of the Vedic people for the tribal world seems to them a dark world devoid of any culture. But culture, as we have today, has a long history and it was not obtained like *dous ex machina.* Whatever may be the predilection of some scholars, facts will speak for themselves. The Vedic texts bear strange names *e.g.* Paippalāda (Atharvaveda) saṃhitā (literally a saṃhitā of the Fig tree eaters-bird) Śaunakīya (Atharvaveda) saṃhitā (Literally a saṃhitā relating to the Dogs)

Taittirīya (Yajurveda) saṃhitā (literally a saṃhitā relating to the Partridges)

Śvetāśvataropaniṣad (Upaniṣad of the White Mules)

Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad (Upaniṣad of the Frogs).

Strange names are these indeed ! What can be the satisfactory explanation of these names ? Why should a philosophical text be called after white mules ? There can be no other explanation unless we consider them as totemic tribal names. However, it is not suggested that the Vedic people remained in the tribal stage when they finally compiled the Saṃhitās and Upaniṣads. They had already passed through the tribal stage. But the Vedic people stood much closer to the tribal society than we do. It is no wonder, therefore, that they retained some of the relics of their past tribal society in their texts.

The earliest human social organisation was founded upon gentes. phraties and tribes. The basic unit was clan (gen). A number of clans were organised into a phratry and a number of phraties, again, comprised the whole tribe. This gentile society did run its government through Kinship, which was a purely personal relation, as opposed to the later political society, in which the government commanded its authority through territorial relations.

This gentile organisation originated in the period of savagery and passed through the stages of barbarism until it was replaced by civilisation, when the political society developed on territorial loyalty. That the idea of government

Secondly, because, the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa itself mentions that the Dyautānasāman is to be chanted in the Vrātyastoma because Dyutāna once acted as the gṛhapati (*i.e.* chief) of the Vrātyas and the Vrātyas, who performed this stoma, attained prosperity (XVII.1.6-7). So the ceremony performed by Dyutāna is an ancient rite. Moreover in the Vrātyastoma of the Aiṣīkapāvas, Kuṣītaka acted as their gṛhapati and this Kuṣītaka was the famous author the Kauṣitakībrāhmaṇa of the Ṛgveda. (Jaim. Br. II. 226). The Aiṣīkapāvas were Vrātyas and the name itself is totemic. It means the descendants of the Divine Monkey. It appears, therefore, that the Vrātya adoption was not merely a device by which "thousands and thousands of Vrātyas were admitted to the society of the Ṛṣis".[5] This stoma was, actually, applied for this purpose in later periods.

The Vrātyastoma stands apart from all other Vedic rituals at least in one essential point. In all other ceremonies a Yajamāna and his wife perform the rites while in the Vrātyastoma all the people led by their chief (गृहपति) are Yajamānas. It is a collective ritual. In all Vedic rituals the sacrificer (Yajamāna) has a minor role to play other than paying fees to the priests. The Yajamāna's position has been reduced almost to a passive observer. But the word Yajamāna itself brings out the original character of all the rituals. Yajamāna is formed by adding śānac, the affix for the present participle of the roots in ātmanepada (middle), with the root Yaj, to sacrifice (लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमा समानाधिकरणे III. 2. 124; आने मुक् VII. 2.82). The verbs in ātmanepada signify a special meaning, which has been almost totally discarded in the classical period. In contrast to the parasmaipada (active) verbs, the ātmanepada verbs were used to signify that the benefit of the action performed accrues to the person who acts for himself (स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले I. 3. 72.). The verbs in parasmaipada are employed for the benefit of somebody else. Thus यजति देवदत्तः means Devadatta sacrifices (for others) and यजते देवदत्तः means Devadatta sacrifices (for himself and the benefit accrues to him). Therefore यजमानमाश्वलायनं पश्य means Behold Āśvalāyana who is sacrificing (for himself). That was the original meaning of Yajamāna as a participle and an adjective. Yajamāna sacrificed for himself and consequently the priestly class was absent from the picture. But in later period, the main role played by the Yajamāna in the ritual was curtailed as a result of the rise of the priestly class. Yajamāna became a mere substantive, in which the force of ātmanepada is absent. This happened because the ritual itself lost its social value.

But Yajamāna, the sacrificer, as a substantive is derived from the root Yaj by adding śānan affix (पूङ्यजोः शानन् III. 2.128) and consequently the word यजमानः does not carry the special significance of the ātmanepada verb Yaj.

[5] Hara Prasad Sastri, ibid, p. 6.

Pāṇini used शानन्, primarily, in order to debar the application of the genetive case in a sentence like सोमं यजमानः (not सोमस्य यजमानः, the genetive case being debarred by न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् II.3.69).

Otherwise शानच् was sufficient. It cannot be argued that शानन् had to be used by Pāṇini only to differentiate Yajamāna by शानच् from the Yajamāna by शानन् because we shall see that in the case of the substantive सुन्वन्, who presses out the juice in a ritual, is formed by शतृ affix to the root सु (सुञो यज्ञसंयोगे III.2.132). The word सुन्वन् is also a substantive and Pāṇini did not resort to any new affix.

But the primitive significance of यजमान was rapidly losing its ground and therefore this fact had to be recognised by Pāṇini by a separate sūtra and yet he could not move far from the original sense. The Vrātyastoma was originally an adoption ceremony by which an entire Vrāta was adopted by another gentile society. At that time the Vedic society was itself tribes. They themselves conducted the ceremony of adoption. Both the societies, the adoptive and the adopted were on the same level. Therefore we see that the adopted vrātas (दैवा व्रात्याः Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, XVII. I. I) were held in high esteem. Let us compare दैव्यः जन divine tribe (Ṛgvedasaṃhitā, X. 57.5). In ancient times clans often replenished their stock by adopting other clansmen. After the initiation the clansmen were given full membership in the adoptive clan.[6]

But the Vedic society which was in the beginning purely tribal, began to move towards civilisation. The political society emerged and tribal societies withered away. With the decay of tribal societies within the Vedic people, the attitude and behaviours of the Vedic people towards the existing tribal societies began to change considerably.

The shift in attitude is discernible in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa.

In the very beginning of the Vrātyastoma it is stated:

देवा वै स्वर्गं लोकमायन् तेषां दैवा अहीयन्त व्रात्यां प्रवसन्तः..XVIII.I.I.

The Gods went to the region of heaven but their divine adherents were left behind leading a Vrātya life. The allusion is clear enough. The growth of many tribal people was stunted while others moved on. Yet they are called as divine adherents.

दीना वा उ ते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यां प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वाणिज्याम्..XVII.I.I.

Forsaken are those wretched fellows who lead a Vrātya life. For they neither practise Brahmacarya nor do they plough or trade.

It is quite true that at a certain stage the art of agriculture and trade was unknown to the tribal people. Perhaps now we can understand what व्रातीन meant. If that was the stage of economy in which the tribals got themselves

[6] Louis H. Morgan. Ancient Society, p. 80-81.

arrested, the Vedic society which was more advanced could not but take pity on them. Necessarily, therefore, the religion of the Vrātas was different from the Vedic people. The Vrātyas are condemned, here not only for their religion but also for low economic status. It is not surprising then, that the Vrātyas should be condemned by the Sūtrakāras of later period as उत्सेधजीविनः (plunderers). This misconception developed at a time when tribal organisations had almost degenerated. It is, however, clear that the Vrātyas were not sāvitrīpatitas as Manu thought them to be.

Yet there are more reasons why the Vrātyas should be condemned.

गरगिरो वा एते ब्रह्माद्यजन्यमन्नमदन्त्यदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्त्यदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति..... XVII. 1.9.

Those, who eat the tribal food (जन्यमन्नम्, on which Sāyaṇa comments जनपदसम्बन्धि अन्नम्), but which is to be eaten by Brāhmaṇ (ब्रह्माद्यम्) are swallowers of poison. They call good speech bad; they roam about hitting the innocent with a stick and they utter the words of the initiated, though not being initiated themselves.

Therefore the strife between the Vedic people and the Vrātyās developed over food. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa denies the Vrātyas the food produced in the tribal area and claims it for themselves. जन्यम् cannot mean foreign as Dr. W. Caland proposes.[7] But Dr. Caland has mentioned in a footnote "the translation and precise meaning doubtful".[8] Vedic texts have often baffled the scholars because the scholars have failed to look into the problem from the real perspective. The difference between the Vedic Society and the tribal society was so great that those who were punishable according to the tribal justice were considered innocent according to the Vedic justice. What were the non-injurious words for the Vedic people were unacceptable in the tribal society. That the uninitiated Vrātyas spoke the words of the initiated could only mean that the Vrātyas were not initiated according to rules prescribed in the Vedic ritual. The rite of initiation is an essential part of tribal life. The entire group must work in order to live. The children should help the women in food gathering, the men should hunt, the elders should direct and supervise. In the tribal society the sexual reproduction was necessarily associated with the food production. The trunsition from one age group to another was effected by rites of initiation, in a way which was realistic and dramatic. This was a drama of death and rebirth of the initiate. In this connection, it will be highly interesting if we compare the Dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi of the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa (I. 3.) which is a drama of birth processes of the initiate Yajamāna. But the Vedic initiation, has already been codified, formalised and taken out of its original context. Still

W. Caland. ibid, p. 455.
W. Caland. ibid, p. 456.

the similarity is striking. So it is natural that the Vrātyas, being initiated according to their tribal rites, did speak something which bore similarity with the conversations of the Vedic initiates, but the Brāhmaṇa could not allow this transgression. Elsewhere the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa mentions that the Vrātyas, led by Budha, brought disaster, by violating the authority of Varuṇa, in course of a *Satra* ceremony. They were saved by Budha, the leader, who agreed to be initiated (XXIV. 18). With this background of antagonism between two basically different societies, it is not surprising to find that the Vrātya was included in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha in the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā (XXX. 8) of the Yajurveda. Later when everybody forgot what Vrāta and Vrātya were, Vrātya became outcastes who did not perform their religious duties.

It is enjoined that the Vrātyas after being adopted must relinquish their former possessions to other Vrātyas. By adoption the Vrātya enters a new life and he must reject his past. He is, as if, born again[9].

Thus Vrātyas began to be absorbed into the Vedic society. But they did not die, they merged with the Vedic society and changed their own rites, customs and religion. Under the impact of this union the Vedic religion also changed to adjust itself with the new ideas. As for instance, the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā condemns the phallic worshippers (VII. 21. 5; X. 99. 3.) but the phallic worship reappeared and still persists in the post Vedic Hindu religion. The Atharvaveda (Book XV). testifies the impact of the Vrātyas on the Vedic society. Here the Vrātyas are praised and glorified in a style which resembles the Puruṣasūkta of the Ṛgveda. "There can be no doubt that the theme is in reality Brahma, but section 5 which introduces the mūrtis of Rudra shows it to be under Śivaitic influence."[10]

Glory of Rudra considerably diminished at the close of the Vedic age and there arose Mahādeva, the lord of animals (पशुपति). It is recorded in the legend that he led the Pramathas (Tormentors) and Gaṇas. He could annihilate the creation. He wields immense power. His characteristics were so peculiar that he could not find his place among the famous Vedic gods. It is only in the Atharvaveda that he appears as a suprme God. Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Śiva are his mūrtis. But this god belonged to the Vrātyas, the tribals. He got admission in the Vedic hierarchy along with his followers, the tribal people. But his entry into the Vedic society was not at all a very peaceful affair. Even as a god, he was much reluctantly recognised by the priests. It is kept in record that Śiva was not invited by his father-in-law in a sacrifice. Śiva was offended he became violent. The quarrel among the gods is but the projec-

Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, Ch. XVII. 1.16.

10 M. Bloomfield. The Atharvaveda; 1899. p. 94.

tion of human societies. Like human beings gods in heaven intrigued, quarrelled and fought among themselves for political power and social prestige.

But it appears that the process of rehabilitation of the tribal god began much earlier. In the Pūrṇamāsa Iṣṭi, the Advaryu offers a portion of oblations to Sviṣṭakṛt Agni. Though Agni is ostensibly mentioned here, the real god is Rudra, who is much dreaded for his violent attitude. He is called Bhīma, Ugra, Kapardī. He is often called Śaṃkara in order to appease him. He is quite different from other Vedic gods. He even shot arrows at Prajāpati and he was made lord of animals (पशुपति). Formerly he had no share in the sacrifice, but he established his right by force and thus, it is said, the Sviṣṭakṛt offering was founded.

Thus new gods appeared along with the merger of the tribal people in the Vedic society. The tribal god, although made to appear as the original Vedic god, retained some of the original characteristics.

To recapitulate. The Vedic people once belonged to the tribal society. They were the Vrātyas. Gradually they moved forward and broke away from the tribal society, though not quite completely. But some of their compatriots still retained their old tribal organisation, as the tribes still do in modern India. These tribes were again adopted into the Vedic society. This was forgotten in later period and consequently the later authors assumed that the Vrātyas were fallen men, outcastes and so on.

What happened to the Vrātyas later is beyond the scope of our present study. But we may hope to find more about them in the Vedic and post-Vedic rituals and literary texts.

THE DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDE OF THE BUDDHA.

By

NAND KISHORE PRASAD, NALANDA

Gotama, the Buddha, neither appealed to the people nor constrained them to adhere to his dhamma and doctrine. On the contrary, he proclaimed: " You yourself must strive. The Blessed Ones are (only) preachers. "[1] Once requested by Ānanda to lay down instructions concerning the Order, the Blessed One is reported to have said: " Surely Ānanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought ' It is I who will lead the brotherhood, or the Order is dependent upon me ', it is he who should lay down instructions concerning the Order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda, thinks not that the Order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning Order. "[2] Furthermore he inspired Ānanda as follows: " ....Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves, Betake yourselves to no external refuge, "[3] and his final injuction was " what Dhamma and Vinaya have been promulgated and proclaimed by me, let that be after my demise your teacher. "[4]

What we propose to emphasise is that the assertions cited above are almost all democratic in spirit. The same spirit is manifest in the ecclesiastical regulations of the Buddhist Order (Saṅgha). Based on democratic footing, these rules are sufficient to prove that their promulgator was an ardent supporter of democratic ideals. Scholars are almost unanimous that the constitution of the Buddhist Fraternity was republican in nature.[5] But despite the fact, some of the eminent scholars harbour doubt about the Buddha being a zealous democrat. They perceive in him a dictatorial attitude. Thus Prof. Oldenberg remarks that " The authority to frame a law for the community belongs to the Buddha alone......".[6] Similarly Dr. S. Dutt says " that the idea that there was no leader of the Saṅgha, no one on whom the Saṅgha was dependent, came to the fore after the death of the first master (Satthā)".[7] Dr. N. Dutt is decidedly vehement in his assertion that the Buddha " himself, however, acted more as a

[1] Dh, Gatha, 276.
[2] DB, Part II, P. 107.
[3] Ibid, P. 108.
[4] Ibid, P. 171.
[5] Buddha, P. 338; EMB, Vol. I, p. 315; EBJ, P. 148 & HBC, P. 155.
[6] Buddha, P. 333.
[7] EBM, P. 125.

dictator than as a constitutional head....".[1] And finally Miss Bhagavat follows him by her remark that "The Buddha by his towering personality no doubt, outshone them all."[2]

Prof. Oldenberg is not unjust in passing such a remark. He is of course, right so far as the promulgation of the rules is concerned.[3] But regulation and imposition are poles apart. It is indubitable that Buddha laid down instructions for religious life, but he neither advised nor forced any one to have a blind faith in them. His attitude, on the contrary, was always rationalistic. 'Test by logic and reason and only then accept any thing, not out of mere regards for the Master' was one of his golden advices given to his followers from time to time. Once he is heard advising the Kālāmas: "So then, Kālāmas, as to my words to you just now: 'Be ye not misled by report or tradition or hearsay. Be not misled by proficiency in the collections, nor by mere logic or inference, nor after considering reasons, nor after reflection on and approval of some theory, nor because it fits becoming, nor out of respect for a recluse (who holds it). But, Kālāmas, when you know yourselves: These things are unprofitable, these things are blameworthy, these things are censured by the intelligent, these things, when performed and undertaken, conduce to loss and sorrow,.....then indeed do ye reject them."[4]

The Buddha's rationalistic attitude is again evidenced by the reply given to the query of the Teacher by the Bhikkhus. On one occasion, the master is reported to have enquired: "Would you, monks, knowing thus, seeing thus, speak thus; The Lord is oppressive to us, but we speak out of respect to our Teacher?" "No Lord" was the bold reply of the Bhikkhus. He again interrogated them: "Do not you, monks, speak only of that which of yourselves you have known, seen and discerned?" And they expressly admitted it by the phrase: "Yes, Lord".[5]

It is clear that the rules framed by the Buddha were put into practice only after a thorough examination of their suitability and unsuitability to the Saṅgha. Thus Prof. A. J. Bahm seems to be justified when he remarks: "But they should do so only because this appears to them best suited to their needs not because Gotama gave an authoritative command to do so."[6]

Let us come to Dr. S. Dutt. The evidence supplied in support of his assertion has merely a show of truth, for when examined in the light of a similar

1 EMB, Vol. I, P. 315.

2 EBJ, P. 86.

3 Even this much is not accepted unanimously. See EBJ, P. 85.

4 BGS, Vol. I, P. 173.

5 MLS, Part I, P. 321.

6 PB, P. 140.

contradiction referred to in the *Milindapañha*, its implausibility becomes clear. He finds, inconsistency in Buddha's denial of himself as 'managing' the Saṅgha or of the Saṅgha as 'depending' on him, and Assaji's acknowledgement of himself as 'being initiated in the Blessed One's name.'[1] As early as the first century B.C. an apparent contradiction was found out by King Milinda in the statements; "Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evaṃ hoti 'ahaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissāmīti' vā 'mamuddesiko bhikkhusaṅgho' ti vā" and "so anekasahassaṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharissati seyyathā pi ahaṃ etarahi anekasataṃ bhikkhusaṅghaṃ pariharāmī' ti",[2] made by the Buddha himself in this respect. He put it to Thera Nāgasena for its solution.

Thera Nāgasena replied that the king is partly right and partly wrong in his remark. The contradiction or inconsistency pointed out in the passages is only applicable so far as the conventional truth is concerned. To the Blessed Ones, "This is I" or "This is mine", for example, is merely a custom of every day life (*sammutisacca*) rather than a transcendental truth (*paramatthasacca*); for Blessed Ones are free from all attachments. They are not helped in any way by their adherents, but their adherents are helped in every way by them. To make it easily comprehensible, he explained it with the help of two similes—One that of the 'earth' (*Paṭhavī*) and the other that of the 'mighty rain-cloud' (*mahatimahāmegho*). It is well-known that the earth is a support and shelter for all and the rain provides nourishment to all, but they have no attachment for them. In the same way the Tathāgata is an asylum of righteous life of the beings but it never occurs to him that "These are mine". Thus, "It is not the Tathāgata, O King" observed Thera Nāgasena, "who seeks after a following, but the followers who seek after him."[3] The intention behind Assagi's statement is, thus, brought out. It is but befitting for a neophyte like Assaji, to acknowledge gratitude to his Teacher and to look to him for necessary assistance as the occasion arose. As such the view that the Order was dependent on the Teacher during his lifetime is untenable.

Instead of applying force to solve any issue of the Order the Buddha always entreated his adherents to tackle it amicably. For instance, the case of dissension in the Church at Kosambi may be cited.[4] The Kosambian monks were divided on certain issue of the Church and the Buddha could not settle it. Seeing the awkward situation, he left the place. To give an authoritative command to the mendicants to obey him would have been the course adopted by a dictator in his place. But he always looked down upon dictatorship because his followers

EBM, P. 69.
Mp, P. 160.
SBE, Vol. XXXV, pp. 225-226.
See Mv, 'Kosambakakkhandhaka'.

were, in his view, his equals and companions; not his subordinates and inferiors. The sympathetic words uttered by the compassionate Teacher to the Bhikkhus just before his departure from Kosambi bears testimony to this. He advised them to associate with friends who were righteous, mindful, wise and happy and to abandon those who were of the opposite nature. This shows that the Buddha left the question of reconciliation to his followers themselves and thus provided scope for the free exercise of their own wisdom.

"Dictators who remain in office tend to be corrupted and misled by their own power. Their closest advisers become flatterers."[1] The Buddha was regarded as a great Teacher of his time. Many sought to wait on him, others to cajole and flatter him. But he always repudiated and discouraged such ideas: "I have naught to do with homage, Nāgita, nor has homage aught to do with me."[2] On one occasion, when praised by Sāriputta, the Generalissimo of the Dhamma, he ridiculed him with the following words: "You see then, Sāriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy?"[3]

Being conscious of the consequences of dictatorship or supreme authority, the Buddha neither acted himself as a dictator nor expected others to do the same in his presence or after his passing away. Consequently, he did never appoint his successor or an Abbot of the Brotherhood. The enquiry made of Ānanda by Gopaka Moggallāna testifies to it unmistakably:

"Is there, good Ānanda, even one monk who was designated by the good Gotama saying: 'After my passing this one will be your support (*paṭisaraṇa*)', and to whom you might have recourse now?"

"There is not even one monk, brāhmaṇa, who was designated by the Lord who knew and saw, perfected one, fully Self-Awakened One, saying: 'After my passing this one will be your support', and to whom we might have recourse now."

"But is there even one monk, Ānanda, who is agreed upon by the Order and designated by a number of monks who are elders, saying: 'After the Lord's passing this one will be our support,' and to whom you might have recourse now?"

"There is not even one monk, brāhmaṇa, who is agreed upon by the Order ....and to whom we might have recourse now."[4]

[1] CPE, Vol. IV, p. 89.
[2] BGS, Vol. IV, p. 224.
[3] DB, Part II, p. 88.
[4] MLS, Vol. III, P. 59-60.

It also shows that the righteous monks strictly adhered to the admonitions of the Teacher and accordingly did not select or elect his head even after the Great-Decease of the Teacher.

Though the question about the head of the Brotherhood does not arise, for the Lord had already vested the authority in the 'Dhamma and Vinaya': "Yo Vo, Ānanda, mayā dhammo ca Vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mamaccayena satthā."[1] Yet Gopaka-Moggallāna remarked: "Evaṃ appaṭisaraṇe, bho Ānanda, ko hetu sāmaggiyā' ti". Ānanda admitted the same (*i.e.* Dhamma and Vinaya) as the support of the Brotherhood to Gopaka-Moggallāna: "Na kho mayaṃ, brāhmaṇa, appaṭisaraṇā; sappaṭisaraṇā mayaṃ, brāhmaṇa, dhammappaṭisaraṇā' ti".[2]

Several designations namely, Gaṇadhara[3] or the head of a group, Gacchācārya or the teacher of a group and Maṇḍalī-Thera or elderly monk who headed a group etc. of the Jaina Order illustrate distinctly that it adopted autocratic form of administration. In other words it believed in personal authority. The Buddhist Brotherhood, on the other hand, did never conceive of such offices. What is conceived of were Dhammasenāpati, Dhammadhara and Vinayadhara etc., which signify the Generalissimo of the doctrines (Dhamma), the custodian of doctrines, and the custodian of the ecclesiastical laws (Vinaya) etc. and are clearly impersonal. It may be observed thus that Buddha neither outshone the members of the church nor considered himself above all. He stuck to a total avoidance of such ideas. And hence, he preached 'Dhamma and Vinaya' for the welfare of the multitude (*bahujanahitāya bahujansukhāya*) as the regulator of the community which derived its authority directly from them (namely, Dhamma and Vinaya) which are entirely impersonal.[4]

The problem which attracts our attention next is—How did this novel idea come into the mind of the Buddha? Did it occur spontaneously or did he borrow it from others? A brief analysis of the then social, religious and political conditions as mentioned in the Pāli Texts will be undoubtedly of much help in this respect.

It is known to all of us that Lord Mahāvīra was a Licchavi Prince by birth and a contemporary of the Buddha. In spite of his being a preacher from their own clan, the Licchavian preferred the Buddha to the Mahāvīra. The influence that the Buddha and his teachings exercised upon the orthodox

[1] Dn, Part II, P. 118.

[2] Mn, Part III, Pp. 69-70.

[3] Lord Mahāvīra had nine Gaṇas but eleven Gaṇadharas, namely Indrabhuti, Agnibhuti etc. Under these Gaṇadharas were placed all the monks of his Order. See LM, Pp. 82-83.

[4] See Buddha, P. 338.

Licchavis may be due to the fact that he adopted the Licchavian constitution for the confraternity with necessary changes. The matter would have taken an opposite turn if he would not have adopted the republican constitution of the Licchavis. The obvious reason behind it was that they were not ready at all to tolerate subjugation. As a testimony to this, the case of the Vajjiputtakas may be put forward. The Vajjiputtaka-Bhikhus were all Licchavian. No sooner did they perceive that their independent spirit was under subjugation, than they separated themselves from the general body of the Church and formed an independent unit known as the Vajjiputtaka-school.[1]

The democratic set-up of the Buddhist Order can best be compared with that of the democratic state. On account of its being a religious unit, the constitution of the Saṅgha can not be compared with that of the state. But still the influence of King or State on the order can easily be traced. Most often royal life seems to be the background of monastic life as well as of the monastic rules.

Our contention is supported by the reply given by the Buddha to the enquiry made by Vassakāra, the Prime Minister of Ajātasattu, King of Magadha. The Buddha related a set of seven conditions of the welfare of a community (*Satta Aparihāniyā Dhammā*), that were inherent in the Vajjis and further remarked, " so long as the Vajjis will practise these *Apparihāniya Dhammas*, so long may the Vajjis be expected to prosper and not to decline. " Thereafter the Buddha prescribed six sets of *Aparihāniya Dhammas* for the Saṅgha. At least the first set is directly derived from the set pointed out about the Vajjis. The others may be regarded as mere corollaries of it. Citation of at least the first two sets—One said about the Vajjis and the other prescribed for the Bhikkhus, will make the position intelligible.

The seven conditions of the welfare said about the Vajjis :

(1) " So long, Ānanda. as the Vajjians foregather thus often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan :

(2) " So long, as the Vajjians meet together in concord and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord :

(3) So long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days :

(4) So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words :

(5) So long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction :

[1] See, 'Second Buddhist Council'.

(6) So long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines (Chaityas) in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude :

(7) So long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arhantas among them :

So long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper ".

The seven conditions of the welfare prescribed for the Bhikkhus :

(1) " So long as the Bhikkhus meet together in full and frequent assemblies :

(2) So long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out in concord the duties of the Order (Saṅgha) :

(3) So long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not already been prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the Order as now laid down :

(4) So long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and the leaders of the Order and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words :

(5) So long as the brethern fall not under the influence of that craving, which is springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence.

(6) So long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude :

(7) So long as the brethren so train their minds in self possession that the good men among their fellow disciples shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease :

So long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper. "[1]

Prof. E. J. Rapson maintains that certain technical terms namely, ñatti or motion, ubbāhikā or 'reference to arbitration', etc. found in the Buddhist Vinaya were most probably borrowed from the constitution of the free clans.[2] If this is a fact, then no proof or support is required for the view that the entire system of the administration of the Buddhist Order itself was copied from the existing republican clans. This view is further corroborated by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Miss Bhagavat.[3] The least possibility for doubt, if there be any, is againremoved by Mahāpaṇdita Rahul Sankrityayna when he unhesitatingly asserts that the Buddha organised his Order taking the free clans as his ideal.[4]

It has already been asserted that democratic spirit, in some form or other, is patent throughout in the constitution of the Buddhist Church. To prove our thesis we propose to give a brief analysis of (1) the rules regarding communal

---

[1] DB, 'The Book of the Great-Decease.'

[2] CHI, P. 157.

[3] HP, P. 42 & EBJ, P. 127.

[4] VAG, P. 23.

ownership of the Saṅgha property, (2) the problem of seniority and succession in the Buddhist hierarchy, (3) the freedom of learning the Buddhavacana (Sermons of the Buddha) in one's own language and (4) the place of laity in the Buddhist Saṅgha.

1. Communal ownership of the Saṅgha-property

In its early days, the Saṅgha owned no preperty according to Buddhist Theory. A mendicant is advised to be satisfied " with sufficient robes to cherish his body, with sufficient food to keep his stomach going." With these words he is further compared with a bird: " whithersoever he may go forth, these things he takes with him as he goes—just as a bird with wings, whithersoever he may fly, carries his wings with him as he flies."[1] But later on, the multiplication of the members of the Saṅgha and the introduction of a corporate life in a settled Āvāsa (residence) necessitated the acceptance of property by the Order. Consequently, acquisition of gifts became permissible and later on it was considered a 'birth right'[2] of the Saṅgha.

Somehow or other, there was some property owned by the Saṅgha. No one could claim it as his own except the right of using it properly and equally with others. If any one wished to make some offer to an individual member of the Saṅgha, it was to be offered to the Saṅgha with special reference to that person.[3] On the conversion of a heretic into the Buddhist Order his properties vested in the Saṅgha. The case of Uruvelā Kassapa may be taken as an instance in point.[4]

After the demise of a Bhikkhu or a Bhikkhunī the Bhikkhu-Saṅgha or the Bhikkhunī-Saṅgha, as the case may be, was the legal heir to all his or her belongings. It was not to be transferred in any case from Bhikkhu-Saṅgha to Bhikkhunī-Saṅgha or *vice-versa.*[5] But the persons who attended him (*i.e.* the deceased monk or sāmaṇera) during his last sickness were not neglected. In such cases, robes and bowl were to fall in their share and the trifles were to be distributed to the members of the Saṅgha present there.[6]

This ideal of communal ownership reaches the climax in the injunction made by the Lord: " so long as they shall divide without partiality, and share in common with their upright companions, all such things as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents

DB, Part I, P. 81.
EBJ, P. 156.
Mv, P. 231.
Cv, P. 233.
Ibid, P. 388.
Mv, P. 319.

of a begging bowl, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper ".[1]

2. *Problem of Seniority and Succession*

Problem of seniority and succession is one of the most significant problems that come before an organisation, of whatever nature it may be. The Buddhist Church was not an exception. Even in the life-time of Lord Buddha the problem arose with regard to individual preferences provided by the Saṅgha.

The main qualifications of the officers of the Buddhist Fraternity were moral integrity, the knowledge of Dhamma and Vinaya and their proper and regular practice. It is evidenced by the rules framed for the guidance of the Saṅgha that "only a learned, competent Bhikkhu who had completed ten years or more may confer ordination and give Nissaya (dependance)";[2] and that "a learned, competent Bhikkhu is allowed to ordain two novices or as many novices as he is able to admonish and instruct to ",[3] and that "even a Bhikkhu of less standing is to be authorised instantly to recite the Pātimokkha, if all the Theras of an Āvāsa be ignorant ".[4] We notice that regulations were laid down to encourage the novices and to avoid filthy competition as well. Two birds were killed with one stone.

It was essential to maintain law and order for the smooth running of the Fraternity, for harmonious relation among the members of the Saṅgha might have been at stake, if favouritism and nepotism would have gained ground in the monastic life. The result might have been a constant conflict and finally, a dissension in the Church which the Master of the Law was not prepared to welcome even at the cost of his own life. It never implies that our Lord underrated seniority in age altogether. His estimation of age indeed was very high. This has clearly been illustrated in the episode given below :

" Long ago, there was a great tree on the Himalayas, near which there dwelt three friends—a partridge, a monkey and an elephant. They wanted to know which of them was seniormost in age. The elephant said,-' Friends, when I was very young I used to walk over this banyan tree, keeping it between my thighs. and its tops brushed against my stomach. So far back, freinds, can I remember '. The monkey said, ' Friends, I remember to have gnawed the tender top of this tree, sitting before it, when I was young. So far back I can remember '. The partridge said, ' Friends, there was formerly a lofty banyan tree in yonder open space. One day, after eating one of its fruits, I

[1] DB, Part II, P. 85.
[2] Mv, P. 67.
[3] Mv, P. 87.
[4] Mv, P. 117.

voided the seed here, and from that this banyan tree grew up. So I must be older than either of you. Thenceforth, the monkey and the elephant obeyed the partridge."[1]

In framing the rules the Buddhist Order showed the keenest foresight and a peculiar psychological approach to human nature. Consequently, it was conscious enough of giving the least opportunity that might cause dissension in the Order at any time to come. One of the causes of cessation of the dependance (*Nissaya*), for example, may be cited. The Nissaya ceases towards the teacher (Ācariya), if the teacher and the preceptor (Upajjhāya) of a monk under dependance have come together.[2] It distinctly installed the Upajjhāya at a level higher than the Ācariya.

Moreover, due consideration was given to circumstances beyond one's control. For instance, if a supervisor of the construction of new buildings (*Navakammika*) after taking the charge of the consruction of the new buildings becomes incompetent and " if he then admits that he is mad or that his mind is unhinged, or that he is afflicted with bodily pain,....the office and its privileges are still his "; otherwise the Saṅgha becomes the owner.[3]

We should not forget that the framer or rather the framers of the Buddhist Laws after all were human beings, and as such they were in the know of the human shortcomings and lapses. Their best effort seems to be to accommodate all such shortcomings and lapses without defying the rules of decorum and decency. The rule that if an Ācariya or an Upajjhāya, as the case may be, committed some grave offence, then he should not be denied the right to hold that office instantly, illustrates it. He should be given even due opportunity to undergo the penance or atone for the offence imposed upon him by the Order. Moreover, his pupil must strive in order that the Saṅgha may revoke its sentence and restore him to the office.[4]

Now it will not be an exaggeration to say that individual as well as society has been given a balanced importance in the constitution. The only motive behind it which can be summed up in a sentence was to install every person in a place worthy of it in order to make him contented and righteous. Thus the remark passed in case of the Jaina Order that the organisers "who were conscious of such problem, made such rules as were fit to blend together

[1] Cv, Quoted from its introduction.

[2] Mv, P. 67.—In Hindu and Jaina tradition Ācārya is installed higher in position than the Upādhyāya.

[3] Cv, P. 270.

[4] Mv, Pp. 46-47.

the ideals of respect for age and respect for scholarship and moral conduct as well,"[1] is applicable in case of the Buddhist Order also.

3. *The freedom for learning Buddha-vacana in one's own language*

Once, emphasising the unification and oneness of his Order, Lord Buddha is reported to have observed: " Just, O Bhikkhus, as the Great rivers-that is to say, the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Aciravatī, the Sarabhū, and the Mahī when they have fallen into the great ocean, renounce their name and lineage and are thenceforth reckoned as the great ocean just so, O Bhikkhus, do these four castes—the Khattiyas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Vessas, and the Suddas when they have gone forth from the world under the doctrine and discipine proclaimed by the Tathāgata, renounce their names and lineage, and enter into the number of the Sakyaputtiya Samaṇas ".[2]

What is desired to bring to notice is that the members of the Saṅgha had come from different families and different corners of the Jambudīpa with various dialects as their lingua-franca. Naturally, it became not only very difficult but really impracticable for them to learn the Buddha-vacana in the language preached by the Blessed one. Two brothers, Yameḷu and Tekula who had come from Brāhmaṇa family, therefore, proposed to render the words of the Buddha into Chandas, the Vedic Sanskrit. When the Blessed One was informed he disapproved the proposal and said: " I allow, O Bhikkhus, to learn the words of the Buddha, each in your own language. "[3] Though the issue is open to question, yet the intention to avoid imposition is reasonably apparent.

4. *Place of laity in the Saṅgha*

It is not easy to determine the place of laity in the Buddhist Church, for "No direct mention is made in the Vinaya of laymen associated with the Saṅgha except that the rules regulate the conduct of the Bhikkhus towards laymen, their reception as Upāsakas, etc."[4] Anyhow, Dr. Pachaw has shown that for the same offence—offence of false complaint against a Bhikkhu by an Upāsaka or Vice-versa, the penance or punishment imposed upon the Bhikkhu was to some extent heavier than that imposed upon the Upāsaka.[5] This may be due to various reasons. The Upāsakas were not counted as the full-fledged members of the Order[6] and this may be one of them. In spite of this, the Order was conscious of the fact that its very existence stood on the sympathy and mercy of the lay

---

1 JMJ, P. 30.
2 SBE, Vol. XX, P. 304.
3 SBE, Vol. XX, P. 155.
4 Vp, Vol. I, Introduction, P. 13, Ft. n. 2.
5 See, JAICO, Legal dealings between the Buddhist and the Laity.'
6 Buddha, P. 382.

devotees. Thus the significant position the lay-devotees that they were donors, providers and supporters of the Saṅgha may be another reason. Thus, the special latitude granted to the laity by the Saṅgha is justified.

Now it can be taken as an admitted fact that all were on the same footing as regards constitutional rights, privileges and obligations. As such it has rightly been summed up that "The Buddha's administration of the Saṅgha resembled that of a real democratic system."[1]

ABBREVIATIONS

Cv	-	Cullavagga (Nālandā Devanāgarī Pali Series).
Dn	-	Dighanikāya („ „ „ „).
Mn	-	Majjhimanikāya („ „ „ „).
Mv	-	Mahāvagga („ „ „ „).
Mp	-	Milindapañha (Pāli Text Society).
Vp	-	Vinayapiṭaka („ „ „).
	-	The Book of the Gradual Sayings.
Db		Dialogues of the Buddha.
Dp	-	Dhammapada (Translated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan)
Mls		The Middle Length Sayings.
SBE		The Sacred Books of the East.
Buddha		Buddha by Prof. H. Oldenberg.
CHI		The Cambridge History of India by Prof. E. J. Rapson.
CPE		Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia.
EBG		Early Buddhist Jurisprudence by Miss. D. N. Bhagvat.
EBM		Early Buddhist Monasticism by Dr. S. Dutt.
EMB		Early Monastic Buddhism by Dr. N. Dutt.
HBC		History of Buddhism in Ceylon by Dr. W. Rahula.
HP		Hindu polity by Dr. K. P. Jayasawal.
JAIOC	-	Journal of All India Oriental Conference, October, 1946.
JMJ		Jaina Monastic Jurisprudence by Dr. S. B. Dev.
LM	-	Lord Mahābīra by Dr. Bool Chanda.
PB	-	Philosophy of the Buddha by Prof. A. J. Bahm.
VAG	-	Vaishālī Abhinandana Grantha.

1. HBC, P. 155.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

NALINI S. SAMARTH, Baroda

The Aryan Path, Theosophy Hall, New Marine Lines, Bombay. Vol. XXXIII, No. 12, Dec. 1962.

Altekar, M. D.: Literature as a Moral Force Jivaka, Getsung Lobzang: The Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak.

Shamsuddin: Ancient Indian Universities.

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, Jan. 1963.

Byrom, Michael: Bodhisattvas in the West.

Tennisons, Karlis A. M.: The Great Guru Gunavarman.

Bharatiya Sahitya, Agra University, Agra, Vol. VI, No. 3, July 1961 (In Hindi).

Mudliyar, Chandrakant: Kamba Rāmāyaṇa, ek parichay.

Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures, University of Madras, Madras-5. 1962, Pt. II.

Reports of Seminars: Historiography, India and the West.

Ramasubramaniam, V: An Inter-Regional Vocabulary of Indian Theatrical terms, English, Tamil and Malayāḷam.

Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Vol. XIV, No. 1, Jan. 1963

Ranganathananda, *Swami*: Our Spiritual Heritage-6: Isa Upanisad.

No. 2, Feb. 1963

Ranganathananda, *Swami*: Our Spiritual Heritage-7: Keṇa Upanisad.

East and West, ISMEO, Rome, Vol. 13, Nos. 2-3, June-Sept., 1962.

Bruno, Andrea: The Planned and Executed restoration of Some Monuments of Archaeological and artistic interest in Afghanistan.

Scerrato, Umberto: A probable Achaemenid Zone in Persian Sistan.

Guillemin, J. Duchesne: Fire in Iran and in Greece.

Folk-Lore, Indian Publications, 3, British Indian Street, P.O. Box 2753, Calcutta-1. Vol. III, No. II, Nov. 1962.

Chandervaker, Pushker: Rain-making Rituals of Gujarat.

Mahapatra, Piyush Kanti: Some Rain-ceremonies of W. B.

Saksena, Jogendra: Rain ceremonies of Rajasthan.

Chakravarty, D. N. & Chakravarty, Usha : Invocation of the rains ranging from the Rig Veda to Rabindranath.

No. 12, Dec. 1962.

Bhat, H. D. : Folksongs of Garhwal.

Ghosal, Samir : Folk-cults and magical rites relating to rain in Bengal.

Banerjee, Bireswar. : The Mechanism of Rainfall.

Indian Studies, Past & Present, 3 Sambhunath Pundit Street, Calcutta-20. Vol. IV, No. 1, Oct.-Dec., 1962

Mitra, R. L : The Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II.

Dixit, K. K. : The ideological affiliation of Jayarāśi, the author of the "Tattvopaplavasiṃha".

Sirkar, D. C. : A manuscript of Jivadeva's 'Bhaktivaibhava'.

The Indo-Asian Culture, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Azad Bhavan, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi-1. Vol. XI, No. 3, Jan., 1963.

Majumdar, A. K. : Early History of the Vaishnava Faith.

Nagaraja Rao, P. : The philosophy of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

Indo-Iranian Journal, Mouton & Co., The Hague, The Netherlands. Vol. III, Nr. 4, 1959.

Heesterman, J. C. : Reflections on the significance of the Dákṣiṇā.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. Vol. XXVIII, Pts. 1 & 2, 1962-63.

Sastry, M. R. : Muslim Patrons of Music (Deccan).

Sastry, M. R : Contribution of Dakkan Muslim Princes to Indian Arts, Golconda State.

Rath, A. K. : The Mauryan Military Organisation.

Rath, A. K. : Saivism in South East Asia.

Lallanji Gopal : Antiquity of Iron in India.

Krishnamurthy, K. : Horticulture in ancient India.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 56 Queen Anne Street, London W, 1. Pts. 3 & 4, 1962.

Bennell, A. S. : The Anglo-Maratha Confrontation of June and July 1803.

Marathi Sanśodhana Patrika, Marathi Post-graduate & Research Institute, Mumbai Marathi Granthasangrahalaya, 172, Naigaum Cross Road, Dadar, Bombay 14. Vol. 10, No. 2, Jan. 1963 (In Marathi)

Priyolkar, A. K. : Musalmananchi Juni Marathi Kavita.

Apte, K. V. : Hemacandrakṛta Apabhramsa Vyākaraṇa.

Marathwada University Journal, Marathwada University, Aurangabad (Dn.). Vol. III, No. 1, August 1962 (In Marathi).

Kasture, Y. M. : Bharatacī Rasavyavasthā.

Pathan, Y. M. : Shri Gurugranthasāhebāvarīl Marāthi Sañskār.

Ahankari, S. V. : Ek Shīlālekh.

Bhat, G. K. : Mālavikāgnimitra—Time Analysis.

Marg, Marg Publications, 34-38, Bank St., Bombay, Vol. XV, No. 2, March 1962.

Kosambi, D. D. : Kaniska and the Saka Era.

Anand, Mulk Raj : Origin of the Buddha Image.

Krishan, Y. : Origin of the Buddha Image.

Bajpai, K. D. : The Kusana Art of Mathura.

Kieffer, C. M. : Kusana Art and the Historic effigies of Mat (India) and Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan).

Srivastava, V. N. : The Gupta Art of Mathura.

Maru Bhārati, Birla Education Trust Pilani (Rājasthān). Vol. X, No, 4, Jan. 1963. (In Hindi).

Bhanavat, Mahendra. : Mewad Pradesh Ke Vivaha Prasang.

Our Heritage, Bulletin of the Department of Postgraduate training and Research Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Vol. VIII, Pt. II, July-Dec., 1960.

Ruben, Walter : The Adventures of Indian Epic Heroes in the forest.

Sarkar, D. C. : Tutelary Deities on tribal coins.

Bhattacharya, Durgamohan : Thoughts on aspects of Vedic Studies.

Hazra, R. C. : Critical examination of Some Readings of the Dāna-Sāgara.

Chattopadhyaya, K. P. : Ancient Indian Culture : Contacts and Migrants.

Parishad-Patrika, Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad Patna, Vol. II, No. 4, Jan. 1963. (In Hindi).

Gopinath Kaviraj : Kashi ki sārasvat Sādhanā.

Miśra, Janaradan : Veda aur Bhāratīya Sabhyatā.

Triveda, Devasahay : Sumeru Sabhyata aur Mohanjodāro ka Vāstu-Śilpa.

Aiyyar, Vishvanath : Malayalam Sahitya me hasya ras ka vikas.

Prabuddha Bharata or Awakened India, 5, Dehi Entally Road, Calcutta 14. Vol. IXVIII, Jan. 1963.

Spiritual Discourses of Swami Vijnanananda.

Editorial : A Month with a Significance.

Bhattacharya, Batuknath : The Mother-Goddess in the Saptaśatī.

Ranganathananda, *Swami* : The Vedānta and its Fundamentals.

Sarma, Sridatta M. V. : Sage Vālmīki.

February, 1963

Das Gupta, Shashi Bhusan : The Śakti-Sādhanā of Śri Ramakrishna.

Sastri, P. S. : Śaṅkara's Conception of the World in Prapañcasāra-Tantra.

Purāṇa, Vasanta Pañchami number, All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort Ramnagar, Varanasi. Vol. V, No. 1, Jan. 1963.

Wadiyar, Jaya Chamaraja Maharaja of Mysore : Puraṇās as the Vehicle of India's Philosophy of History.

Derrett, J. Duncan M. : The Purāṇās in Vyavahāra Portions of Medieval Smṛti-Works.

Chakravarti, Chintaharan : Purāṇa-Digests.

Dange, Sadashiv A. : Prajāpati and His daughter.

Raghavan, V. : Purāṇārthasaṅgrha of Veṅkaṭarāya.

Sharma, Dasharatha : Verbal Similarities between the Durgā-Sapta-Śatī and the Devi Bhāgavata Purāṇa and other considerations bearing on their Dates.

Paranjape, V. W. : Consideration of some readings of the Śiva-Purāṇa.

Chatterji, Aśoke : Some observations on the Date of the Bengal Recension of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa.

Kantawala, S. G. : Geographical and Ethnic data in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Dvivedi, Thakur Prasad Sharma : A Study of the Non-Anuṣṭubh metres of the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

Sanśodhak, V. K. Rajvade Sanśodhan Mandal, Dhulia. Vol. 29, No. 1-4, 1962.

Sali, S. A. : An outline of Archaeological Evidence from Dhulia District.

Bhat, B. V. : Maharashtratil dharmic Sampradayancha itihasa.

Speculum, a Journal of Mediaeval Studies, the Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts. Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, Oct. 1962.

Ackerman, Robert. W. : The Debate of the Body and the Soul and Parochial Christianity.

Varadā, Rājasthān Sāhitya Samiti, Bisāu (Rājasthān). Vol. VI, No. 1, Jan. 1963. (In Hindi)

Solānkī, Parameshvar : Udaypur Saṅgrahalay ke aprakashit Kutilaksharī lekh.

Sharma, Manohar : Syānaṇa Ki Pahāḍī Kā madhyakalin devālay.

Agraval, Ratnachandra : Rājasthān Ke Prachin Dev Bhavan (Abhibhāshan)

The Vedanta Kesari, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras-4. Vol. XLIX, No. 9. Jan. 1963.

Editorial : Swami Vivekananda and Vedanta.

Nambudribad, P. M. Bhaskaran: Concept of Maya according to Swami Vivekananda.

Sudhangsu, Br. : Swami Vivekananda's Call for Amity of Religions and Message of Divinity of Man.

Iyer, M. K. Venkatarama : The Advaitin's way of Life.

No. 10, Feb. 1963.

Editorial : Sri Ramakrishna and God-consciousness.

Vivekananda *Swami* : Image Worship.

Naidu, P. S. : Metaphysical foundations of the Bhagavad Gita.

Vedic Digest, Atmaram Cultural Foundation, Atmaram Road, Baroda. Vol. 9, No. 1, Jan. 1963

Devi Chand: The Yajur Veda.

Dharma Deva, Pt. : Does Vedic Dharma advocate inaction or Pessimism.

Vol. 9, No. 2

Devichand : The Yajur Veda

Dharma Deva: The Analytical Exposition of three Historical Religious Buddhism.

The Visvabharati Quarterly, Santiniketan, West Bengal, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1961.

Mookerjee, Satkari : The Jaina Conception of Time.

Vishva Jyoti, V. V. R. I. P. O. Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur. Vol. XI, No. 12, Feb. 1963 (In Hindi)

Vidyalankar, Avanindrakumar: Shivaji Mahan pratirakśā kā apūrva sangaṭhan.

Chaturvedi, Śivadatta Śarmā : Bāṇabhaṭṭa Kā Kāvya Kauśal.

Bālakāṇḍa-Ayodhyākāṇḍa-Samaślokī Saṁkṣipta Anuvāda (Gujarati) Second revised edition: by SHRIMATI HANSABEN MEHTA ; published by Gurjara Grantharatna Karyalaya, Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad. Demy size, pp. 38+362. 1962. Rs. 10/-.

We welcome the publication of a revised edition of the abridged metrical Gujarati version of the Bālakāṇḍa and the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa in one volume. The present reviewer happened to review the first edition of the Bālakāṇḍa (1953 A.D.) and the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (1954) in this Journal (Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 221-222 and Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 285). Dr. Hansaben Mehta, the learned critic and translator of the Rāmāyaṇa, is naturally anxious to present the story of the Rāmāyaṇa in a connected form by rejecting passages, episodes and chapters which appear to be spurious for one reason or another, and thereby to place the highest Ideals of the Epic in the clearest form before the public. She has no doubt succeeded in fulfilling her mission even without the help of a Critical edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa at the time of the publication of the first edition.

The Bālakāṇḍa and the Ayodhyākāṇḍa in this Version contain 32 and 81 Sargas respectively as against 76 (Vulgate 77) and 111 (Vulgate 119) Sargas in the Critical edition of the two Kāṇḍas published by the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda. The episodes of Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi, Sagara, Viśvāmitra and Ahalyā are dropped in the Version of the Bālakāṇḍa as they are evidently irrelevant and consequently disturb the narration. In this revised edition the learned critic has dropped the reference to the burning of Laṅkā and the fire-ordeal of Sītā in the Index in the first Sarga of the Bālakāṇḍa. In the second case Dr. Mehta receives support from the Critical edition of the Bālakāṇḍa where the reference to the fire-ordeal is omitted on the manuscriptional evidence.

The omissions in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa in this Version are significant, and some of them are supported by the Critical edition. Sts. 40-48 of Sarga 9 (in the Vulgate) are dropped on the ground of obscenity. The Critical edition of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa shows that some of these stanzas appear in some MSS. in the margin only. St. 19 of Sarga 21 is dropped in this Version as Lakṣmaṇa's attitude towards his father is highly objectionable. The stanza is omitted in the Critical edition on the evidence of the MSS. Sarga 32 is omitted on the ground of impropriety. The Critical edition has dropped 17 stanzas out of 46. The Sargas 60, 63 (Śravaṇa episode), 65, 69, 77, 79, 80, 83-93 (Bharata's march to Citrakūṭa) and 100 (Kaccit chapter on Polity) are dropped in the Version

on the ground of impropriety and spuriousness. All these Sargas are retained in the Critical edition as they appear in all the MSS. of the N and S Recensions. Sarga 100 (on Polity) is an echo of the Mbh. Sabhāparvan, chp. 5 and is, therefore, evidently late and irrelevant in the Rāmāyaṇa. Prof. Hopkins describes this Sarga as an instance of "dynamic intrusion of foreign didactic material" (The Great Epic of India, p. 384). Sargas 109-111 and 114 are also dropped in this Version. The episode of Jābāli seems to be spurious, and even the Critical edition has also rejected not less than 26 lines of this Sarga, which refer to Buddha as a thief, on the strength of the MSS. The last four Sargas (116-119) of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (Vulgate) are dropped in this Version as the Kāṇḍa, according to Dr. Mehta, should naturally come to a close with Bharata's residence in Nandigrāma. In this case Dr. Mehta is supported by the Northern Recension of the Rāmāyaṇa (both North-West and North-East Versions). The Critical edition has, however, retained these four Sargas at the end of the Ayodhyakāṇḍa as a prelude to the Araṇyakāṇḍa, following the Southern Recension.

The second edition of this version has presented the story of Rāma in a correct Anuṣṭup metre. Some of the metrical irregularities which crept in in the first edition have been scrupulously removed in this revised edition, with the result that the text runs very smoothly like the original Epic. This is indeed a great achievement.

Dr. Hansaben Mehta has undoubtedly transcended the Critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa by the application of Higher Criticism. The Critical edition, as it has to be prepared *solely* on the evidence of representative MSS., has its own limitations. Dr. Sukthankar's remarks on the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata are equally applicable to the Critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa. "The reader will find," remarks Dr. Sukthankar, "that the constituted text is by no means smooth. There remain many contradictions and superfluities." (Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I, p. 130). The Critical edition is, however, necessary for the application of Higher Criticism at a later stage.

There are many adaptations of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa in all the Indian languages and some of the foreign languages. The Versions in the Indian languages, like those of Kamban, Tulasīdāsa and Giridhara, have gone much beyond the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. There was thus a long-felt desideratum of a *metrical* Version presenting the Rāmāyaṇa in its pristine purity. Dr. Hansaben Mehta, the ex-Vice-Chancellor of the M. S. University of Baroda, deserves the gratitude of scholars and students of the Rāmāyaṇa for this abridged metrical Version of purest ray serene. It is desirable that competent persons prepare such Versions in other Indian languages as early as possible. The public will certainly derive much profit. We anxiously await the publication of the second edition of the metrical version of the other Kāṇḍas.

G. H. BHATT

Rāmakathā (origin and development) (Hindi) Second revised edition : By Rev. Father Dr. C. BULCKE, S.J., M.A., D. Phil., Head of the Hindi Department, St. Xavier's College, Ranchi (Bihar State); published by the Hindi Pariṣad, University of Allahabad, November 1962. pp. 22 + 820. Rs. 20.

The first edition of *Rāmakathā*, published in November 1950, was reviewed in the JOI, Baroda, Vol. I, pp. 95-96 and was most favourably received by scholars, students and general readers. It was out-of-print since long. This second edition which is revised, enlarged and made up-to-date is therefore most welcome.

The work is divided into five Parts (or *Kāṇḍas*, to imitate the Rāmāyaṇa) which have in all twenty-one chapters. The *first* Part deals with the ancient Rāma-Story-Literature in five chapters which discuss (1) Vedic Literature and Rāma-Story, (2) Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, (3) Rāma-Story in the Mahābhārata, (4) Rāma-Story in the Buddhist Literature and (5) Rāma-Story in the Jaina Literature. The *second* Part treats of the origin of the Rāma-Story in four chapters (6-9) discussing (6) the riddle of the Daśaratha Jātaka, (7) the original source of the Rāma-Story, (8) major interpolations in the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (Vulgate) and (9) early development of the Rāma-Story. The *third* Part makes a survey of the modern Rāma-Story-Literature in four chapters (10-13) dealing with (10) the Sanskrit Religious Literature, (11) the Sanskrit Literature (Poems, Dramas etc.), (12) the modern Indian Languages and (13) the Foreign Literature. The *fourth* and the last Parts treat of the development of the Rāma-Story in eight chapters (14-21). In the first seven chapters (14-20) the learned author examines the seven Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa respectively. In each case he summarises the story of the Kāṇḍa, points out the main differences in the three Recensions (NW, NE, and S) of the Rāmāyaṇa, shows the interpolations and traces the development of the Kāṇḍa through several stages making a reference to the available literature of the Rāma-Story in the world, thus covering 433 pages (287-720). The last chapter (21) gives a general resume showing how the Rāma-Story is widely spread in the world, how there is original unity in the different Rāma-Stories, how the interpolations bear common characteristics and how the Rāma-Story is influenced by the Jaina Rāma-legends, Kṛṣṇa-legends, Śaivism and Śaktism. The Appendix at the end contains (1) supplementary materials, (2) the tabular analysis of the Rāma-Story Literature, (3) a very exhaustive Bibliography (pp. 756-772), (4) an Index of Works, Authors and Subjects and (5) Errata.

The above-mentioned brief contents will at once show the exhaustive and critical study of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāma-legends in the Literature of the World, on the part of Rev. Fr. Dr. Bulcke. His judgment is sound. Some of his conclusions are supported by the Critical Edition of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa,

(Bālakāṇḍa and Ayodhyākāṇḍa are already published, and the Araṇyakaṇḍa, which is in print, will be published shortly). The chapter on Polity (Ayodhyā, Sarga 100) which corresponds to Mbh. Sabhāparvan, Ch. 5 (50 on p. 386 is a misprint) has been rightly described by the author as an interpolation. The Critical edition has retained it simply because it is recorded in all the MSS. of the Critical Apparatus. The episode of Jābāli (p. 387) referring to Buddha as a thief is omitted in the Critical edition. One whole Sarga after 95 in the Ayodhyākāṇḍa (the episode of a crow), considered as an interpolation, is also dropped in the Cr. Ed. In the Araṇyakāṇḍa, one Sarga between Sargas 56 and 57, is also omitted in the Cr. Ed. Instances of this type can be multiplied with a view to showing the correctness of Fr. Bulcke's approach to the subject.

This second edition has again got much additional matter which undoubtedly increases its value. The complete information about Vālmīki, a critical study of the accounts of Rāvaṇa and Hanumat, detailed information about Paraśurāma, Śabarī, Trijaṭā, Mandodarī and others, an exhaustive study of the Jaina Literature on the Rāmāyaṇa, and an account of the old unpublished Rāma-plays—these are the most important additions in the second edition. *Ullāgharāghava* referred to by the author is now published as No. 132 in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

The second edition is most comprehensive and indispensable to scholars and students. We offer our hearty congratulations to Fr. Bulcke on this critical and encyclopaedic work, and we repeat our request made in 1951 that the University of Allahabad should publish an English version of this *Rāmakathā* which is certainly a work of international importance.

G. H. BHATT

The Heart of Buddhist Meditation by NYANAPONIKA THERA. Publishers: Rider and Company, London. Price: 25s. Net.

The purpose of this book is to focus the attention of the readers on the deep significance of the Buddha's Way of Mindfulness (Satipaṭṭhāna) and to give initial guidance for an understanding of these teachings and their practical application. The author of the book sincerely believes that systematic cultivation of mindfulness, as taught by the Buddha in the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta of the Dīghanikāya, still provides the most simple and effective method of training and developing the mind in approaching its daily tasks and problems, as well as in striving for the highest aim, namely, deliverance of the mind from greed, hatred and delusion.

Meditation that is practised for personal bliss or for self-mortification is not acceptable to Theravāda (Orthodox) Buddhism. In the Noble Eightfold Path, preached by the Buddha, meditation enjoys a place subordinate to Right

View which demands persistent attempts to destroy craving, which is the root-cause of Suffering, in one's own mind, and in the minds of others. The Buddhists try to secure this aim with the help of Right Concentration (Sammā Samādhi), which steers clear between meditation practised for personal bliss (Rājayoga) and meditation practised for self-torture (Haṭhayoga). The Buddhists continued to practise the ancient system of meditation, involving controlled breathing (Prāṇāyāma), but at the same time modified it by emphasising the importance of Universal Friendship (Mettā), compassion (Karuṇā), Soft-heartedness or Sympathy (Muditā) and Indifference to pleasure and pain (Upekkhā)—the Four Ennobling Qualities of the mind, to bring it in line with their Philosophy.

The purpose of the Satipaṭṭhāna Method (Application of Mindfulness), according to Orthodox Buddhism, is to overcome sorrow and misery, to master the mind, which is hard to control, and to develop latent faculties of the mind for greater strength and happiness. The highest aim of the method of Satipaṭṭhāna is nothing less than the final liberation from Suffering *i. e.* Nirvāṇa. But the general application of Mindfulness on the level of normal activities of life is no less important.

The present volume is the outcome of Nyāṇapoṇika Thera's deep study of mental training based upon Buddha's Way of Mindfulness. The book is divided into three parts. The First Part explains in simple terms the basic Buddhist Practices of Meditation, through the help of which anyone, irrespective of his faith in Buddhist religion, would be able to develop a state of full mental awareness. The significance, methods and aims of practising Mindfulness are clearly explained. The relationship between Mindfulness and Comprehension is nicely brought out. The Contemplation on Body, Feelings, Mind and Mental states is described at length and the method of practising Mindfulness on these four objects is laid down and it is shown how skillful application of Mindfulness results in cultivating the mind.

This is followed by the Second Part which gives us a full translation, with critical notes, of the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta (The Great Discourse on the Application of Mindfulness)—a basic Pāli text of what the Buddha taught on the subject. The doctrine expounded in this discourse is perhaps the most important, after that of the Aryan Path, in early Buddhism. The two doctrines are closely connected. 'Sati' here means being aware of impermanence of all phenomena, bodily and mental. It is the most efficacious instrument for self. mastery.

In the third and the last part of the book is given a very valuable collection of translations of passages from Pāli and Sanskrit books dealing with Right Mindfulness. These texts will offer to the earnest student supplementary explanations of the Discourse. This section will serve as a source-book on the

subject and will throw light on the fact that Right Mindfulness is not allowed to become a mere historical remnant by the Buddhists, but it has become an active force in life and thought of the followers of Buddhism and provides a strong and close link between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Throughout the text, Nyāṇapoṇika Thera has supplemented his work with a number of valuable notes and comments. His book will surely be a source of good information concerning Buddhist Meditation (Application of Mindfulness) as presented in the Theravāda School of Buddhism (Hīnayāna Buddhism). The author's treatment of the subject is both original and useful. He has illustrated many important points with passages drawn mainly from the Pāli Tipiṭaka.

V. R. JOSHI

Some Old Lost Rāma Plays (Lectures delivered in the Annamalai University) by, Dr. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A.; Ph.D.; Published by Annamalai University, Annamalainagar; 1961; Pp. I to XIV; 1 to 127.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki has always been a powerful agent in moulding the cultural mind of India. The lucidity, strength and graceful sweetness of the poetry of Vālmīki have not only attracted the attention of the literary minds of India, but the rich and charming variety of the incidents woven around Rāma's life have also impelled them to compose dramas and one-act plays. While some of the great dramatists like Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara are known through their masterpieces like Pratimā, Uttararāmacarita and Bālarāmāyaṇa, others are almost irretrievably lost. The great dramatists like Bhāsa and Bhavabhūti were responsible to a great extent for getting away with lion's share of public appreciation and admiration from the critics. However, writers on poetics and dramaturgy from Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta to Śāradātanaya and Viśvanātha have many times referred to and quoted from, sometimes in great detail, Sanskrit dramas most of which have not been avaible to us so far. Dr. Rāghavan's small but important work "SOME OLD LOST RĀMA PLAYS" gives not only a very clear idea of the contents of Rāma-plays referred to by the Sanskrit rhetoricians but raises great hopes that scholars like Dr. Rāghavan may one day find them all.

Dr. Rāghavan divides his work into three parts. In the first part he has given us all the available references to the eight Rāma-plays, beginning from Rāmābhyudaya to Rāghavānanda. The references are arranged in the order of the action in each play. The learned doctor has shown great insight and deep scholarship in the arrangement of these references with the result that we get almost a finished picture of the plot and the sentiment in each play. In the second part references to five more plays are collected and in the attempt at

arranging them Dr. Rāghavan has pressed to service his profound mastery of the intricacies of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy, but the nature of these scanty references do not allow us to have a consistent picture of the details of the plot, sentiment, the beginning and the end of each play. In the third part of the work further references to stray acts of some more Rāma-plays are given. While discussing these references Dr. Rāghavan has selected some famous verses from Subhāṣitasaṅgrahas and has decided their context in these stray acts. We are tempted to suggest that some of these stray acts may be one-act plays, complete in themselves.

The eight plays रामाभ्युदय, कृत्यारावण, छलितराम, जानकीराघव, राघवाभ्युदय, रामानन्द, मायपुष्पक and राघवानन्द and the plays स्वप्नदशानन, मारीचवञ्चित and रामविक्रम have almost the same incidents of Rāmāyaṇa, as found in the आरण्यकाण्ड and the युद्धकाण्ड, as their source material. They are spread over in six or seven acts. They generally follow the rules of dramaturgy as propounded by Bharata. While some dramatists like Yaśovarman, whose literary fame suffered greatly on account of his political fall on the one hand and better appreciation of Bhavabhūti's play by the public on the other, strongly advocate that so far as the story of a play is concerned, there should not be many and drastic innovations from the source-material (कथामार्गे न चातिक्रमः), there were dramatists like the author of " Chalitarāma " who introduced, e. g., an interesting change from the original source. Sītā is abandoned by Rāma because the emissaries of " Lavaṇāsura " duped Rāma into believing that she was no longer faithful to him. Other plays have a similar variety of innovations. They offer an opportunity for a detailed study.

The play " Kṛtyārāvaṇa " has a very interesting remark (P. 29). In the beginning of the play, Sūtradhāra remarks that he would fain leave the wretched profession of an actor and take to Saṃnyāsa, for, the drama had become " wordy " and " devoid of any significant action. "

वाक्प्रपञ्चैकसारेण निर्विशेषाल्पवृत्तिना ।
स्वामिनेव नटत्वेन निर्विण्णाः सर्वथा वयम् ॥

This is an echo of protest not only from the public but also from the profession, against the dramatists who cared more for literary embellishments at the cost of dramatic elements in a play. The plays reconstructed by Dr. Rāghavan are as if a reply to this protest; for, all the eight plays have a charming variety of incidents. They are arranged with an aim of bringing about dramatic coherence and are adored with simple and graceful poetic diction. The discovery of these plays will bring about a change in our evaluation of the dramas of the so called " Ornate Period " in Sanskrit literature.

According to Dr. Rāghavan, " in Chalitarāma we have lost another Uttararāmacarita ". While we agree that Chalitarāma was an important drama having charming and graceful diction of epic beauty (cp. the description of

"śarad" season, P. 53), we should note that it was a drama of incidents (cp. Abbinavagupta as quoted by Dr. Rāghavan, क्वचिन्नाटके धर्मः प्रधानं यथा छलितरामे रामस्य अश्वमेधः । p. 58) while Uttararāmacarita is a drama of character. It will be interesting to compare the latter not with Chalitarāma but with "Jānakīrāghava" with regard to the lyrical aspect, for, the different states of Sītā's love-lorn condition are described with charming delicacy. We are tempted to suggest with Dr. Rāghavan that Sāgaranandin is the author of Jānakīrāghava, and this is borne out by the nature of the detailed references to the play.

An important and interesting statement is made with regard to the verse व्यर्थं यत्र कपीन्द्र etc. by Bhoja (1040 A. D, circa.) in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa anonymously, and Śiṅgabhūpāla (1340 A. D. circa.) in his Rasārṇavasudhākara says that the verse, in question is from the drama Rāmānanda. Dr. Rāghavan says that this verse which is found nowadays in the third act of Uttararāmacarita, has really no place there and that it originally belonged to Rāmānanda. While we are happy with this admirable research by the learned doctor, it is difficult to agree with him. The verse in question comes after an earlier verse उपायानां भावात् etc. in which Rāma laments that the former separation from Sītā had a ray of reunion with her while the second separation was for all time. Sītā is shocked to hear this and says that निरवधिरिति हा हतास्मि मन्दभागिनी । Rāma's lament continues: " Sītā, alas, is at such a place where the friendship of Sugrīva, the might of the monkeys, the wisdom of Jāmbavat, the speed of Hanumat, the engineering genius of Nala and the arrows of Lakṣmaṇa are of no avail. On this Sītā says बहुमानितास्मि तं पूर्वविरहम् । The verse व्यर्थं यत्र etc. completes the account of the second separation, while the earlier verse explains the first separation. The two verses are in a perfectly justifiable construction and context with each other. Ghanaśyāma (1730 A. D.), a commentator of Uttararāmacarita, does not dispute Bhavabhūti's authorship of the verse although he ridicules another interpretation given by another commentator.

We are sure that this work which bears testimony to Dr. Rāghavan's deep knowledge of poetics and dramaturgy will impell scholars for further studies in the Rāma-plays. The study of the relation of these plays with one another on the one hand and with the dramas of Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara on the other, will be useful in revising our ideas on drama and dramatists in ancient India. They will offer important clues as regards the innovations and improvements upon their source-material and how far these changes were responsible for the major changes that are found in the popular and religious versions of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.

J. M. SHUKLA

Chandonuśāsana of Ācārya Hemacandrasūri: Critically edited by Prof. H. D. VELANKAR; published by Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay-7. Singhi Jaina Series, no. 49, pp. 48 + 364. Price Rs. 14=40 nP.

Chandonuśāsana is one of the most authoritative texts written by Hemacandra on various branches of liberal education in ancient and mediaeval India on subjects like grammar, lexicon, logic, poetics, metrics, etc. Chandonuśāsana is Hemacandra's very important contribution in the field of metrics, and the work is especially noteworthy, because the author has given a systematic and selective account of the discussions by all his predecessors who have written on this subject. Later works on prosody, like the Chandoratnāvali of Amaracandra, are deeply influenced by the work of Hemacandra. Chandonuśāsana is composed in Sanskrit Sūtras, accompanied by a short commentary in Sanskrit. The author has given illustrations for every metre, having himself composed them in such a manner that they contain the name of the metre which is illustrated. In these illustrations he employs the particular language to which the metre belongs. A great scholar like Hemacandra has thus given independent status to the Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa prosody, and consequently the Chandonuśāsana is invaluable for a study of Prākrit metres as well as for a study of the metres of the NIA languages which are inherited by them from Apabhraṁśa.

The Chandonuśāsana was published in Pothī form in A.D. 1912. Though the text was thus made easily available, the edition was uncritical, and hence this edition of the same work by Professor H. D. Velankar, one of our best scholars of Sanskrit and Prākrit prosody, is welcome. The edition is based on a number of manuscripts, most of which are supplied to the editor by Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, that indefatigable scholar and researcher of ancient MSS and by the General Editor of the Singhi Jaina Series, Muni Shri Jinavijayaji.

In the Introduction Prof. Velankar has traced briefly but in a scholarly way the development of Prākrit metres, just as in his Introduction to the Jayadāman (Bombay, 1949), a collection of four ancient texts on Sanskrit prosody, he had attempted to trace the origin and growth of Sanskrit metres. The section dealing with Prākrit metres from the Jānāśrayī, a work on prosody composed towards the end of the 6th century A.D., has been reproduced in an Appendix and a number of Indexes at the end present, in a systematic way, very useful material about Sanskrit and Prākrit metres.

Prof. Velankar and Muni Shri Jinavijayaji have obliged all students of Indian prosody by the publication of this excellent edition of the Chandonuśāsana.

B. J. SANDESARA

Govardhanram: Cintaka Ane Sarjaka: (Govardhanram: The Thinker and creative artist)—By Prof. V. R. TRIVEDI, published by N. M. TRIPATHI, Private Ltd., Bombay, 1962; pp. 134. Price Rs. 2-50.

With an aim of instituting "Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi Series of Lectures on the history and literature of Gujarat", Messers N. M. Tripathi, Private Ltd. of Bombay gave a handsome donation to the Gujarat University. This book is a collection of five lectures in Gujarati delivered as the inaugural lectures under the series, by Prof. Visnuprasad R. Trivedi from 16th August to 20th August 1960.

It has been a happy coincidence that the great creative artist and thinker of Gujarat, author of the famous novel *Sarasvatīcandra* and other works, whose sacred name has been associated with the series, has been chosen as the subject of these inaugural lectures. At the same time the University should congratulate itself for obtaining as the first lecturer under this series a critic of Prof. V. R. Trivedi's standing.

In the first lecture Prof. Trivedi has discussed the philosophy of life as explained by Govardhanram. For explaining the fundamentals of this philosophy Prof. Trivedi has meticulously studied the works of Govardhanram, 'Practical Asceticism'—a book written by Govardhanram at the age of twenty two-, 'Sarasvatīcandra'—his great and famous novel, 'Sākṣarajīvana', 'Adhyātma-jīvana, and the published Scrap-books of Govardhanram. The exposition of this aspect of Govardhanram's thought, so ably and lucidly done by Prof. Trivedi, conclusively establishes Govardhanram as a great thinker. Prof. Trivedi opines that in the original thought-content as found in these works, Govardhanram fore-shadows thinkers like Shri Arvind, Vivekanand and Tilak.

Govardhanram says that all actions of an individual should be subordinated to the great Cosmic activity, that all the individual cravings should be a part of the great Cosmic Desire, is in fact, the real sacrifice, the real worship and the real duty. In other words it is the consummation of all individuality. The Veda declares that the gods sacrificed with the help of sacrifice alone (यज्ञेन यज्ञमयजन्त देवा: ।). This is what Govardhanram calls the joy of the consummation of all accomplishment. He describes it as "the beatitude of emancipating consummation—the only result worth my life-long pains". These are some of the fundamentals of Govardhanram's Philosophy of life.

The second lecture discusses Sākṣarajīvana, Govardhanram's ideal of scholarly and literary life.

Govardhanram has expressed very noble thoughts about the life of a literary artist. He is, according to him, a sage (ऋषि), a trumpeter of new order (कवि), an unruffled hero (धीर). Non-attachment, mental purity necessary for

exploring truth and the foresight of a Sādhaka, are the very essentials for a life of literary pursuit. He divides the Literary man into different categories as बालद्रष्टा, शुकद्रष्टा, लक्षणद्रष्टा, लक्ष्यद्रष्टा and पर्येषक. According to him a पर्येषक may be equated with the मन्त्रद्रष्टा or स्मृतिकार. Gāndhī and Arvind are मन्त्रद्रष्टाs and people like Michael Angelo, Kalidas and Shakespeare may be grouped under लक्ष्यद्रष्टा. A host of writers seriously pursuing literary activities may be named as men of letters.

Govardhanram's most important contribution to Gujarati literary thinking is his lofty conception of the nature of a literary genius. In Sākṣarajīvana we have a brilliant and successful attempt at synthesising the concept of Man of Letters and the concept of the artist as a sage. It at once reflects the ideal that Govardhanram nourished all his life and the literary activity which flashed forth from the realization of this ideal.

In the third lecture Prof. Trivedi has given a literary estimate of the poetical works of Govardhanram and in the fourth lecture he gives an excellent evaluation of "Sarasvatīcandra" being given the pride of place as "Purāṇa", "Epic" or 'Smṛti-kathā'. The most predominent qualities of this bulky novel of about 1500 pages are the wealth and variety of incidents of life which seem to move in an orderly way in context of time and place. The flights of fancy, the abiding interest and understanding, the wisdom that looks beyond the actual drama of the hour, the richness of learning, the clear and lucid style and the ideal of the social welfare reigning supreme throughout the novel have all contributed to the work being called a 'Mahākāvya'. This novel is not only the best Gujarati novel of the age but it is the most penetrating analysis of the times, attempted as a whole. It is not the view of a slice of life, perchance observed from a small window of experience. It is a panorama of life, full and vast, infinite and exquisite, viewed from the heights of Mt. Sundaragiri, which has been described in the novel itself.

Govardhanram's technique of exposition and his prose style are the subject of Prof. Trivedi's fifth lecture. It is in a way an extension of the fourth lecture where Prof. Trivedi has given many illustrations of Govardhanram's technique of exposition which is at once unique and full of variety. No other Gujarati writer has proved equal to Govardhanram in the prose patterns that the latter is master of. The polish and the effectiveness developed by Govardhanram in the prose-style will abide for all times. Prof. Trivedi has illustrated this aspect of Govardhanram's achievement and has proved that his style reflects his character. Govardhanram has imbibed the virtues of the style of Bāṇa and Burke and has avoided the artificiality of his predecessors as well as contemporaries.

These five lectures are written in a very elegant and sensitive prose-style of which Prof. Trivedi is a master. They form an exquisite study of Govardhanram, the creative artist and thinker. Perhaps it is the best study and evalua-

tion of Govardhanram done so far. This is all the more significant when we remember that the Sarasvatīcandra has been assiduously studied by the literary men of Gujarat since its first volume was published in 1887. Prof. Trivedi deserves our warm compliments for this excellent monograph on Govardhanram.

R. M. PATEL

Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit': By Dr. B. J. SANDESARA, M.A., Ph.D. and J. P. THAKER, M.A. The M.S. University Oriental Series, no. 8. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Pages 242. December 1962. Price Rs. 12=00.

This work constitutes the lexicographical study of the language of the Sanskrit Prabandhas written by mediaeval Jaina authors as represented by (1) Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi of Merutuṅgasūri (1305 A.D.), (2) Prabandha-Kośa of Rājaśekharasūri (1349 A.D.) and (3) Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha, a collection of various Prabandhas brought together. All these works are edited by Muni Jinavijayaji and published in the Singhi Jaina Series.

The language of these works represents a regional style of Sanskrit which took much of its idiom and lexical content from the current spoken regional language and transformed the same into Skt. garb. These studies were serially published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute VIII.2; IX 3, 4; X, XI, XII. 1. They are now put in a book-form in the present work. Mainly, the work contains the lexicographical study of such typical expressions as are found in the three works mentioned above. Three separate studies of these three works are given *viz.* of Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi Pp. 1-40; of Prabandha-Kośa Pp. 41-102; of Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha Pp. 103-232; and the rest of the ten pages are utilized in giving the addenda and about two pages for corrigenda. From the very nature of the studies which were gradually compiled and worked for the journal as it was published, the authors have not been able to give the consolidated word-index of the expressions of all the three works.

I should understand and perhaps the readers also would agree that this is an attempt, the first essay almost to serve as a pointer that such lexicographical study is a desideratum. This point has been recognised by the authors in their Introduction. Again, they have taken a very wide and significant connotation for the expression 'the Jaina Sanskrit'. The Sanskrit expressions taken in the work represent the 'simple, popular, colloquial, regional Skt. as contrasted to the Classical Skt.', as found in the voluminous writings by the Jainas between the 8th and the 18th century A.D. Naturally, therefore, these studies recognize the colloquial non-Jaina expressions of the time rendered into Skt. and at the same time the ritualistic and technical Jaina expressions of the time also. They have also included expressions which have suffered a change in spelling and gender too from the Classical Skt.

They have also incorporated expressions which are recognized in Classical Skt. but are quaint and have all the suspicion of having been adopted from the spoken language of the time. The most glaring is the example of इङ्गाल = 'charcoal'. It is used by Harṣa in his नैषधीयचरित. I. 9: निजस्य तेजःशिखिनः परश्शता वितेनुरिङ्गालमिवायशः परे ॥ or फाल or फालक originally meaning 'a piece', 'a part' and then extended to mean 'a piece of cloth'. नैषधीयचरित I. 16: अमानि तत्तेन निजायशोयुगं द्विफालबद्धाश्चिकुराः शिरःस्थितम् ।. The expression अनेकप 'an elephant' is well-known in Skt. and is used in दण्डिन्'s दशकुमारचरित. जामि- 'a woman' and then restricted to 'a woman who is regarded as a sister' just as बहिणि<Sk. भगिनी is extended in modern Gujarati, is found in मनुस्मृति. Similarly कृकवाकु 'a cock' and वरत्रा 'a rope' are found used in शिशुपालवध of माघ XI. 9 and 44 respectively. These are only the stray examples.

The ritualistic and theological Jaina expressions like समवसरण, गुप्ति, कायोत्सर्ग, आस्रव, महाव्रत etc. have been included in the word-index. These are very well-known expressions in the Jaina theology which generally do not find place in Sanskrit Dictionaries.

There are also the Persian and Arabic terms rendered into Skt. They show the Moslem influence, for example मशिति 'a mosque' G. मसीद; सुरत्राण 'a king' G. सुलतान; दुर्वेस 'a mendicant' G. दरवेस; दुनी 'world' G. दुनिया; तुगलक, तुरक, पातसाहि etc.

There are also words taken from the current language which are Sanskritised and used: *e.g.* दर्दुरी 'ring-worm' G. दादर; देशपट्ट 'banishment' G. देशवटो; दोटी < Sk. द्विपट्टिका and Pk. दोवट्टिआ G. दोटी; दोसिक < Sk. दूष्य + इक G. दोसी; पट्टिलक *i.e.* 'one who holds a document or a parchment in cloth to be the head of the village' G. पटेल; पिञ्जन 'a carding-rod' G. पींजण; अवलगक 'a servant' G. ओळगाणो etc.

Some words have been directly used even without the trouble having been taken to Sanskritise them. For example: आईधुआ 'mother's daughter'; खड्ड 'a pit'; छार 'ashes'; √झाल् 'to hold' G. झालवुं; तुम्बडी 'a gourd' G. तुंबडी; etc. Sometimes, only a slight change is made, *e.g.* खिच्चडिका 'hotch-potch' G. खीचडी; झोलिका 'a piece of cloth knotted to serve to hold something' G. झोळी; चलनक 'a petticoat' Skt. चरणिक G. चरणियो or चणियो; etc.

The adoption of regional idioms is also found; *e.g.* दुर्भिक्षः पतिष्यति G. दुकाळ पडशे; धाटीप्रपातमकरोत् G. धाड पाडी; पादौ अवधारयति 'to give the pleasure of one's company, to welcome' G. पधारवुं; etc.

Some of the words express the manners, professions and customs of those days; *e.g.* धूलिधावक 'one who washes the sweepings from the street in the hope of getting something valuable' G. धूळधोया; न्यायघण्टा 'the bell of justice'; पापघट 'a pot of sin'; घटसर्प 'a type of an ordeal in which the suspect is asked to put his hand in an earthen pot containing a serpent'; etc. These expressions throw light on the social conditions of those days. There are also words reflecting upon the political administration of the mediaeval times.

In spite of the best attempts of the compilers, some words have remained unexplained. The authors have put before them the interrogation marks: *e.g.* आलक, जरीदक, नाटसारि etc.

I would like to add some short notes on कार्पटिक and पापघट. कार्पटिक, I am inclined to think, is a Skt. form of Pkt. कव्वडिअ or कावडिअ *i.e.* a mendicant who carries a bamboo stick provided with slings at each end for carrying pitchers etc. on his shoulders. The word कार्पटिक seems to be connected with कावडि which has also been noted on p. 119 by the authors. Another word पापघट occurs in the Apabhraṃśa work छक्कम्मुवएसो 14.11.1 of अमरकीर्ति where some reader of the MS. has given a marginal note on पावघडो or पापघट: which is as under: प्रेतवने मसाने मृतककै हाथि डोवा (an earthen pot with a handle) बाधि करि (having tied) चिता उपरि रवीरि रांधि मडे पडि पतुसाइ करटहा वाम्हण षाहि। तद् देयं दानं न भवति। This seems to be a peculiar custom. Under the present context मयणल्ला wants to perform her last rites after death during her life-time (जीवत्क्रिया) to purify her three births. The Brahmins do not accept the पापघट offered as alms by her. The offering of पापघट in a refined form exists as a social custom and in crude form even amongst some low-class communities. The expression would be much useful to understand the history of funeral customs prevalent if some more light is thrown on this expression by scholars who have the knowledge of such customs.

The present work is compiled with great effort and erudition by Dr. Sandesara and Shri Thaker. Dr. Sandesara has also given learned studies of such obscure expressions in various journals and the work of this nature by himself and his colleagues is bound to be certainly most valuable. The value of such lexical studies is immense as not only would they help a lot in the study of mediaeval regional languages like Old Gujarati linguistically but also they would throw much light on the social history of those times also as, after all, language is first and last a social product.

M. C. Modi

OBITUARY

Maha-Pandit Rahul Sankrityayana

Maha Pandit Rahula Sankrityayana passed away in the forenoon of April 14, 1963 in Eden Hospital, Darjeeling at the age of 70 years. He was born on April 9, 1893 in the small village of Kanaila, Tehsil Mohammadabad, Dt. Azamgarh in a well-to-do Brahmin family. His father's name was Pt. Gobardhan Pandey and mother's name Kulavanti Devi. Rahulji was their eldest son, having three younger brothers and one younger sister. His birth-name was Kedar Nath Pandey. In the beginning he received elementary education in a village school, at first passing the fourth standard and later Urdu Middle in 1908 and Hindi Middle in 1909. He had from early childhood a strong urge to see new places.

His restless soul made him leave his house at the age of 12, but he was brought back several times. When 14 he ran away to Calcutta, taking service under a Brahmin there and doing personal service for him. Soon he returned and having passed his Middle class returned to Calcutta at the age of 16 and did Clerk's service in a business firm of Sunghani Sahu of Banaras. Only after some months he left it and came back to undertake a tour in the Himalayas where he spent about six months. He came under the influence of a Nepali Pandit and learnt something about the Tantric form of the Devī-worship. He wanted to see the Goddess face to face and performed a Navarātra-Pārāyaṇa of Devi-Māhātmya or Durgā Saptaśatī, throwing on the very first day a challenge to the Goddess that at the end of the ceremony either She should make herself visible before him or he would end his life. The Devī did not appear and young Rahula thinking that there was something wrong with his Puja wanted to end his life by taking *dhatūra*, but the end did not come and after some treatment his life was saved.

During his stay at Banaras where this incident took place he studied Kāvya and Vyākaraṇa and made good progress in Sanskrit learning. At this juncture he came under the influence of a Vaishnava Mahant of Saran, who initiated him as his disciple under the name of Baba Ram Udar Das, with the promise of offering the Gaddi to him in due course. Only after about a year and half he left the place and came under the influence of Arya Samaj. His fiery soul read all its literature and conceived of a plan to organise a band of missionaries for propagating the ancient culture. During this period he also studied Arabic and Persian. In 1918 he was at Lahore in the midst of Arya Samajee friends studying the Vedic literature.

By this time the National Movement of Mahatma Gandhi had filled the air making an appeal to idealistic young men for service to the mother-land. Rahulji joined the Movement and for delivering a speech was sent to jail for four months. The period of 1922 he spent in deepening his knowledge of Sanskrit especially Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya at Kasi, Ayodhya and in South India. He also began to take interest in the Leftists' Movement for the Kisans and had to go to jail a second time under a sentence of 2 years (1925-26) which period he spent in the Hazaribagh Jail. He made good use of his time in the prison studying a lot of literature including some works on Buddhism which now began to take hold of his mind.

The fire of Buddha's teaching caught his imagination completely and he conceived of a plan to go to Ceylon and qualify in the language and literature of Buddhism by coming into first hand contact with the teachers there. In 1928 he went over to Ceylon and joined the Vidyalankara Parivena. He was teaching Sanskrit there and himself learning Pali. His thirst for knowledge now found its fullest appeasement and he obtained the title of Tripiṭakāchārya after studying the Pālī Āgamas and their Aṭṭhā kathā commentaries.

As the next natural step in his evolutionary career he felt within the depth of his soul a call to master the literature of Sanskrit Buddhism. In order to fulfil the same he went straight to Tibet in 1930 and stayed there for 15 months. It is said that at this time he received his initiation as a monk telegraphically from Maha Pandit Dharmanand Kausambi. There he mastered the Tibetian language, brought back with him originals and photo-copies of valuable Sanskrit manuscripts, laden on 22 mules. This achievement at once sky-rocketted his reputation amongst Orientalists in India and Europe and he was hailed as a great explorer. Being impressed by his work Prof. Scherbatsky of Leningrad invited him to Russia. But immediately after coming back from Tibet he re-visited Ceylon and from there went straight to England and other centres of oriental learning in Europe in order to organise the work on the manuscripts he had brought. On return from there he went a second time to Tibet and extended the field of his activities.

While he was in Europe in 1933 Dr. Kashi-Prasad Jayaswal who was his great friend and supporter settled all the conditions to enable him to put his valuable collection of manuscripts and *Thanka* or Tibetan banner paintings in the Patna Museum. Rahulji accepted this arrangement. Later on the manuscript collection was transferred with his consent to the Jayaswal Research Institute. Rahulji himself took a leading part in the editing of the texts and writing commentaries on the more important ones and made arrangement for their publication, but the work is of a stupendous nature for which a full-fledged Institute will have to devote its resources for a long term of years.

His political loyalties were getting warmer being influenced by Marxism as a result of his visit to Russia, and China and in 19[illegible] became a member of the All-India Communist Party from which he was subsequently expelled. This was in a way fortunate for him because it added new fuel to the literary fire that was burning in him. In 1944 he revisited Russia spending there three years and joining the Oriental Institute of Leningrad. He worked there feverishly bringing on his return a load of note-books comprising about 2400 pages of the results of his studies. He also compiled a Russian-Sanskrit Dictionary in 400 pages which is yet to be published. During all these years his pen was active in the work of translation and writing original works in Hindi. In 1939 he was elected President of the Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, and in 1948 of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelana held at Bombay. After return from his second visit to Tibet, he went to Japan, and from there to Russia at the invitation of Prof. Scherbatsky. Thereafter he went to Tibet a third time succceded in making his own hand-written copies of about 70 new Buddhist texts comprising one and a half lakhs of *ślokas*.

Rahulji was a versatile genius working on many fronts and an indefatigable writer and author. He took a leading part in the movement for collection of folk-literature and for resurrecting the various dialects of Hindi wishing to confer on them literary autonomy and the status of regional language as media of instruction in their own areas. He also worked for the compilation of a new terminological Dictionary of administrative terms and himself wrote a Śāśana-Śabda-Kosha containing about 20,000 words. A Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary by him is being published by the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad. For Buddhism he translated into Hindi the Majjhima-Nikāya (1933), Dīgha Nikāya (1935), Vinaya-Piṭaka (1934), Dhamma-Pada (1933) and compiled a life of Buddha under the name of *Buddha-Caryā.* He also wrote a book named *Tibet Men Bauddha Dharma* (Buddhism in Tibet) (1935) and a voluminous book in two parts entitled *Madhya Asia Kā Itihāsa.* He was the first to draw pointed attention to the value of the early Apabhraṁśa works of the Siddha Āchāryas, thereby pushing back the beginning of Hindi literature by 400 years. He had found in Tibet translation of the Dohās of Sarahapāda which he edited in original Apabhraṁśa together with its Tibetan and Hindi translation under the title Saraha-Dohā-Kosha (1954). He took great interest in archaeology as an earnest of which his *Purātattva-Nibandhāvalī* (1936) and the *Purātattvāṅka* (Archaeology Number) of Gaṅgā-magazine may be seen, the latter created a stir in the Hindi world and may still be found useful.

Rahulji was always serving the Hindi literature by rediscovering its lost chapters. As an instance his '*Dakkhinī Hindī Kāvya-Dhārā*' is a very useful compilation. He has shown there that *Rekhtā* or Old-Urdu was but a style of

Old-Hindi to which Wali Ullah, Mohd. Kuli, Kutubshah and other great writers of the Deccan contributed through their extensive writings.

He has also written extensively novels and travel literature and also biographies. Amongst the first the more notable are *Vogla Se Gaṅgā* (Collection of Short Stories), *Singha Senapati* and *Jaya Yaudheya.* He had in him from birth an element of a Yuan Chwang or a Marcopolo and his travel-books include the following:

Merī Laddākh Yātrā, Laṅkā, Tibet Men Savā-varsha, Merī Yurup Yātrā, Merī Tibet Yātrā, Jāpān, Īrān, Rūs Men Paccīs Māsa, Ghummakkaḍa-Śāstra, and *Asia Ke Durgam Khaṇḍo Men.* He has also written other books named *Kinnara-Deśa, Kumāūn, Garhwāl, Nepāl, Himānchal-Pradeśa* and *Jaunsār-Dehrādūn.* On philosophy he has written a standard work, *Darśana-Digdarśana* treating of the Indian Schools and also the foreign Schools of Philosophy both of the ancient and modern times.

The pinnancle of his glory rests on the Sanskrit Buddhist literature that he brought from the Tibetan monasteries, Ṣātu, Ngor, Gu-ruṅ-lha, andothers. By his learning, tact and profession of Buddhism he found favour with the monks and examined the manuscripts collection under their care, persuading them for permission to prepare photographs and hand-copies. He was able to discover a number of texts of which the following may be noted:

1	अष्टसाहास्रिका प्रज्ञापारामता		—
2	सद्धर्म पुण्डरीकसूत्र		—
3	वादन्याय टीका (विपञ्चितार्था)–		शांतरक्षित
4	A Commentary on some सर्वास्तिवाद Sūtras	–	अश्वघोष
5	मध्यान्त विभङ्गकारिका	–	मैत्रेय
6	मध्यान्त विभङ्ग सूत्र	–	मैत्रेय
7	अभिसमयालङ्कार	–	मैत्रेय
8	समाधिराजसूत्र		—
9	काशिकापञ्चिका	–	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि
10	Miscellaneous leaves		
11	अभिसमयालङ्कार विवृत्ति		
12	व्याप्ति निर्णय		रत्नकीर्ति
13	चित्ताद्वैतप्रकरणवाद		,,
14	पञ्चविंशतिसाहस्रिका– प्रज्ञा पारमितोपदेश		बुद्धदास (आचार्य)
15	ज्ञानसार समुच्चय		(आर्यदेव)

16	अभिसमयालङ्कारालोक	(हरिभद्र)
17	अर्थविनिश्चयसूत्र	
18	शतसाहस्रिका प्रज्ञापारमिता	
19	न्यायविन्दु अनुटीका (धर्मोत्तर-प्रदीप)	दुर्वेकमिश्र
20	(हेतुविन्दु-अनुटीका)	
21	महामायूरी विद्याराज्ञी	
22	(चान्द्रव्याकरण टीका, सुबन्त)	
23	कलापवृत्ति	दुर्गसिंह
24	अभिधर्मकोशकारिका	वसुबन्धु
25	काशिका विवरण पञ्जिका	जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि
26	बोधिचर्यावतार	शान्तिदेव
27	विंशिकाविवृत्ति	——
28	अमरकोश टीका (कवि कामधेनु)	सुभूतिचन्द्र
29	कलापव्याकरणटीका	उत्सवकीर्ति
30	मध्यान्तविभङ्गकारिकाभाष्य	वसुबन्धु
31	वादन्याय टीका (?)	
32	वादन्याय	धर्मकीर्ति
33	वार्तिकालङ्कार	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त
34	प्रमाणवार्त्तिक-वृत्ति	धर्मकीर्ति
35	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकवृत्ति-टीका	कर्णकगोमी
36	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकभाष्य	प्रज्ञाकरगुप्त
37	बोधिचर्यावतार	(शान्तिदेव)
38	योगाचारभूमि	(असङ्ग)
39	अध्यर्द्धशतक	मातृचेट
40	चान्द्रव्याकरण	चन्द्रगोमी
41	गण्डव्यूहसूत्र	
42	सद्धर्मपुण्डरीकसूत्र	
43	प्रमाणवार्तिकवृत्ति	मनोरथनन्दी
44	न्यायविन्दुपञ्जिका	धर्मोत्तर
45	प्रमाणवार्त्तिक	धर्मकीर्त्ति
46	विनयसूत्र	गुणप्रभ
47	अभिधर्मप्रदीप with विभाषा-प्रभावृत्ति	

48	विग्रहव्यावर्तनी	नागार्जुन
49	दोहाकोश टीका	
50	वार्तिकाङ्कार	(प्रज्ञाकर गुप्त)
51	कातन्त्रपञ्जिका	त्रिलोचनदास
52	काव्यप्रकाश	(राजानकमम्मट)
53	चान्द्रव्याकरणवृत्ति	चन्द्रगोमी
54	कातन्त्रवृत्तिपंजिका	त्रिलोचनदास
55	चान्द्रव्याकरणवृत्ति	चन्द्रगोमी
56	चान्द्रव्याकरण टीका	रत्नमति
57	चान्द्रव्याकरणपञ्जिका	पूर्णचन्द्र
58	तर्कज्वाला (मध्यमक हृदय)	भगवद्विवेक
59	अभिधर्मसमुच्चय	
60	त्रिंशतिका कारिका	असङ्ग
61	अभिधर्मकोश भाष्य	वसुबन्धु
62	दोहाकोश	सरह
63	क्षणभङ्गाध्याय	(ज्ञानश्रीमित्र)

MSS. photographed or copied.

1 अध्यर्धशतकS. x
2 मध्यान्तविभंगभाष्यNg
3 महायानोत्तरतंत्रNg.
4 „ टीकाSh.
5 योगाचारभूमिS. x
6 न्यायबिन्दुनुटीकाNg.
7 प्रमाणवार्त्तिकटीकाNg.

Note—S=Sa-Shya., Ng=Ngor, Sh=Shatu. X=are copied.

Rahulji as a true scholar fulfilled his obligation to the valuable treasures which he had himself discovered. This he accomplished in two ways: firstly by editing the texts and secondly by writing Ṭīkās and translations on them, *e.g.* he edited the Vāda-Nyāya (JBORS, XXI, 1935), Pramāṇa-Vārttika (Vol. XXIV, 1938), Adhyardha-Śataka (Vol. XXIII, 1937), Vigraha-vyāvartinī of Nāgārjuna (Vol. XXIII, 1937), Pramāṇa-Vārttika of Dharmakīrti Vol. XXII, 1938), Pramāṇa-Varttika-vṛitti (Vol. XXIV, 1938; XXVI, 1940). He wrote a Ṭikā on Abhidharma-Kośa Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi (Sanskrit restoration of Yuan Chwang's translation), Hetu-Bindu, Sambandha-Parīkṣā and Pramāṇa-vārttika itself.

In 1959 the Vidyālaṅkāra Parivena University, his old *alma mater* appointed him as University Professor, in which post he served until his end.

He had formed a dynamic conception about the history and critique of Indian philosophical literature as it developed from the time of Dharmakīrti upto the last days of the Nalanda teachers. He had visualised that the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical logicians had developed a system of dialetic in which the points of controversy formulated in one system were met with in another and *vice-versa* so that in course of time a very subtle system of arguments and counter-arguments covered the whole field preserving a faithful record of the intellectual activity of great minds for about 800 years without parochial distinctions of sect and religion. He wanted to approach the problem in the same broad spirit and to reintroduce the study of mediaeval logic and metaphysics amongst scholars of Indian philosophy at the present day, that is to make Indian Philosophy a creative subjects of live interest and not a dry load to the mind as it is today. He had an inspiration that Indian scholars should contribute their full share to the realisation of this idea and that the old texts, which at one time were famous throughout Asia, should once again shed their lustre on the philosophical studies of modern times. It was a grand idea and Rahulji dedicated himself to it with all the energy of his mind and body. He was constitutionally well built and enjoyed normally good health, excepting during the last years of life when he fell a victim to ailments like diabetes and blood-pressure which finally took him away.

The question after Rahulji's passing away is the proper editing and publication of the literature which he recovered from Tibet not only for India but for the whole world of scholars. He once told me that in the Tibetan monasteries he had seen room-fulls of manuscripts arranged in tiers from floor to the ceiling and a whole generation of scholars would be needed to examine them and assess their value. All those treasures are for the present beyond the reach of the modern world. One can only hope and pray that they will be properly looked after and humanity's obligation towards them would be fulfilled in an adequate manner. In the mean-time what Rahulji has made accessible to us should receive due attention and Government should organise a literary programme for their publication.

V. S. AGRAWALA

XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

4th to 10th January, 1964

Press-note :

At a recent meeting of the Organising Committee, XXVI session of the International Congress of Orientalists, it was finally decided to hold the XXVI session of the International Congress of Orientalists at New Delhi from 4th to 10th January, 1964. Prof. Humayun Kabir is the Chairman of the Organising Committee and Shri A. K. Ghosh and Prof. R. N. Dandekar are its Secretaries. The Congress is divided into ten principal Sections—Egyptology, Semitic Studies, Hittite and Caucasian Studies, Altaic Studies including Turcology, Iranian Studies, Indology, South-East Asian Studies, East Asian Studies, Islamic Studies and African Studies. Thousands of scholars from India and abroad have been invited to participate in the Congress. Scholars wishing to register themselves as members may address the Joint Secretary, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

Statement about the ownership and other particulars about newspaper

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1	*Place of the Publication* :	Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.
2	*Periodicity of its Publication* :	Three months—September, December, March, June.
3	*Printer's Name* :	Shri Ramanlal J. Patel
	Nationality :	Indian
	Address :	Limda Pole, Raopura, Baroda
4	*Publisher's Name* :	B. J. Sandesara
	Nationality :	Indian
	Address :	Adhyapak Nivas, Pratap Gunj, Baroda.
5	*Editor's Name* :	B. J. Sandesara,
	Nationality :	Indian
	Address :	Adhyapak Nivas, Pratap Gunj, Baroda.
6	*Names & addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital*	The M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda

I, B. J. Sandesara, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

B. J. Sandesara
Signature of Publisher

THE GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES

GOS. Nos.

122 RIHLA OF IBN BATUTA: Translated into English with critical notes by Dr. Mahdi Husain; 1953, pp. 31-291. Rs. 37.00

129 PĀDA-INDEX OF VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA, Vol. I, edited by Prof. G. H. Bhatt. Rs. 5.60

130 VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA PURĀṆA—III KHAṆḌA—Vol. I: Critically edited text, with introduction: by Dr. Priyabālā Shah, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.; 1958. Rs. 20.00

132 ULLĀGHARĀGHAVA NĀṬAKA OF SOMEŚVARA, the Royal-priest of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, composed in about the 12th century A.D., edited by Muni Shri Puṇyavijayajī and Dr. B. J. Sandesara. Rs. 10.00

133 SAṄGĪTOPANIṢADSĀRODDHĀRA OF VĀCANĀCĀRYA SUDHĀKALAŚA: A work on Indian Music and Dance by a Jaina author, composed in 1350 A.D., edited by Dr. Umakant P. Shah. Rs. 10.00

134 A DICTIONARY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, prepared by Prof. K. V. Abhyankar. An indispensable reference-work for all students of Sanskrit Language. Rs. 20.00

135 **Descriptive Catalogue of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts in the Śāntināth Bhaṇḍāra, Cambay**, ed. by Muni Shri Puṇyavijayajī, Vol. I. Rs. 15.00

136 VAIŚEṢIKASŪTRA with Vṛtti of Candrānanda and some original passages from Tibetan texts on Vaiśeṣikadarśana; critically edited by Muni Jambuvijayaji. Rs. 25.00

137 VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA-PURĀṆA (विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-पुराण) Khaṇḍa IV; Vol. II; Introduction, appendices, indices etc., by Dr. Priyabālā Shah. Rs. 20.00

138 MĀNASOLLĀSA (मानसोल्लास) OR ABHILAṢITĀRTHACINTĀ-MAṆI OF SOMEŚVARA: Vol. III; edited by Shri G. K. Shrigondekar, M.A. Rs. 18.00

NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA (नाट्यशास्त्र) of Bharata with the commentary of Abhinavagupta of Kashmir; Vol. IV, edited by M. Ramkrishna Kavi and J. S. Pade Shastri with introduction. *shortly*

Can be had from:

MANAGER, UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS SALES UNIT, University Press Premises, Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda-1, India.

PRACHINA GURJAR GRANTHAMALA

PRICE Rs. nP.

1. *Varṇaka-Samuccaya*: A collection of old Gujarati prose-works containing a mine of data for cultural history, comparable with the Varṇaratnākar of Jyotirīśvara; Vol. 1—Text, ed. by Dr. B. J. Sandesara, pp. 12 + 220. — 7=50
2. *Varṇaka-Samuccaya* Vol. II: Cultural study and indices—by Dr. B. J. Sandesara and Dr. Ramanlal N. Mehta, pp. 8+255. — 8=25
3. *Pañcākhyāna Bālāvabodha of Yaśodhara*: A translation of Pañcatantra in old Gujarati prose (early 16th century) by a brahmin scholar; edited by Dr. B. J. Sandesara and Dr. S. D. Parekh, pp. 30 + 368. — 18=60

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD HONORARIUM LECTURE SERIES

1. *Ancient Indian Colonisation in South-East Asia*: by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., PH.D., Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University; second edition, 1963. — 5=00
2. *The Postulates of Rural Development*: by S. K. Dey, I.C S., Development Commissioner, West Bengal, pp. 2+23. — 0=44
3. *Treatment of Landscape in Eastern and Western Poetry*: by Dr. C. P. Ramswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., LL.D., D.LITT. pp. 1-50. — 2=25
4. भारतीय तत्त्वविद्या: by Pandit Sukhalalaji — 3=50

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO MEMORIAL LECTURE SERIES

1. *Planning and Freedom and Pattern of India's Economy*: by Shri G. L. Mehta. — 0=75
2. *Maulana Azad's Contribution to Education*: by Prof. K. G. Saiyidain. — 0=50
3. आनन्दमीमांसा: by Prof. Rasiklal C. Parikh — *shortly*

THE MAHARAJA SAYAJIRAO UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL SERIES

1. *Pramāṇamañjarī*: edited by Dr. Priyabālā Shah — 1=75
2. *Gīrvāṇapadamañjarī and Gīrvāṇavaṅmanjarī*: edited with an introduction, by Dr. U. P. Shah. — 6=00
3. *Lexicographical Studies in 'Jain Sanskrit'*: by Dr. B. J. Sandesara and Shri J. P. Thakar. — 12=00

अत्र पुण्डरीकपदस्यापेक्षा ॥

खण्डितोपमा यथा

उद्भिन्नाङ्को रजनिदयितः कैरवाकारधारी ।

अत्रोपमानोपमेययोर्निर्विशेषणसविशेषणतया **खण्डित्वम्** ॥

असम्भाव्योपमा यथा

तवाननान्तः स्फुरति स्मितश्रीर्ज्योत्स्नेव संफुल्लसरोजगर्भे[1] ।

अत्र संफुल्लसरोजगर्भे ज्योत्स्नाया असम्भावितत्वा**दसम्भाव्योपमा** ॥

भग्नसंवृत्तिरुपमा यथा

अन्यैव कापि कामिनि भाति गतिस्ते गजस्येव ।

अत्रान्यैव कापीत्यनेनानिर्वचनीयरूपा **संवृत्ति**[2]र्गजस्येवेत्युपमया **भग्ना** ॥[3]

अथ रूपकदोषेषु **खण्डितरूपकं** यथा

दृशोर्वितनुते मुदं गगनपुण्डरीकं शशी ।

अत्र गगनस्य खण्डितरूपकतया **खण्डित**[4]**त्वम्** ॥

अप्रतीतगुणं यथा

भाति काव्यसुधाकरः ।

अत्र काव्यस्य सुधाकरत्वारो[5]पगुणाप्रतीते**रप्रतीतगुणत्वम्** ॥

इतिहासविरुद्धं यथा

विद्वेषिबलवाराशिशोषणो[6]ऽत्रिः स भूपतिः ॥ १४ ॥

अत्रात्रेर्वारिधिशोषण**मितिहासविरुद्धम्** ।

---

१ B. सराज०

२ B. संवृति०

३ As seven examples are found here, the author seems to have failed to give examples of अधिकोपमा and अप्रतीतोपमा.

४ षंडित० in both. A. corr. sec. m.

५ A. रोप्य०

६ B. °स्योषणो

[1]अधिकरूपकं यथा

ष(ख)द्योतभानुस्तिमिरं भिनत्ति ।

ष(ख)द्योते सूर्यत्वारोपोऽधिकरूपकत्वम् ॥

हीनरूपकं यथा

पृथ्वीं विदारयामास स हिरण्याख्यमूषकः ।
इदमिष्टं पयोराशिर्गोष्पदं व्यवसायिनाम् ॥
अरूपादिषु रूपादेरारोपोऽतिप्रशस्यते ॥ १५ ॥

यथा

सुभगत्वगर्वपर्वतविकारकाणिका भवद्भ्रुवो रेषा(खा)
मज्जयति रागसागरमध्ये चेतो निरालम्बम् ॥ १६ ॥
लिङ्गादिव्यत्ययोऽप्यत्र रूपके शस्यते बुधैः ।

यथा

दृशौ पद्मवनं तस्याः करौ तु[2] कुमुदाकरः ॥ १७ ॥

इति श्रीमालकुल-श्रीमालभारमालवमण्डलालङ्कारजीवनेन्द्रनन्दन-मफरलमलिक-**श्री-पुञ्जराज**विरचिते **शिशुप्रबोधे**[3] **काव्यालङ्कारे वाक्यार्थदोषनिरूपणं** नामाध्यायश्चतुर्थः ॥ ४ ॥ ॥ छ ॥[4]

[अथ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः]

काव्यशोभाकृतो धर्मा अन्तरङ्गतया स्थिताः ।
यैर्विना काव्यताहानिस्ते **गुणाः**[5] परिकीर्तिताः ॥ १ ॥

ओजः प्रसादः समता श्लेषौदार्यसमाधयः ।
माधुर्य(र्यं)सौकुमार्यार्थव्यक्तयः कान्तिरित्यमी ॥ २

१ B. Before this यथा ॥ विद्वेषिबलव stands uncrossed.

२ A. करो (रौ changed to रो sec. m) तु.

३ A. ०बोध–

४ B. Adds श्रीरस्तु ॥

५ A. स्तेगुणा repeated, 1st crossed. B. स्तेगु stands uncrossed before स्तेगुणाः

क्रमेण लक्षयिष्यन्ते शब्देऽर्थे च व्यवस्थिताः ।
बन्धस्य यत्तु गाढत्वं तदोजः परिकीर्तितम् ॥
शिथिलत्वं प्रसादः स्यात्स ओजःसम्मतो[1] गुणः ॥ ३ ॥

तत्रौजो यथा

पुरःस्तत्रकितस्मितप्रचुरकान्तिदन्तच्छदः ।

प्रसादो यथा

गले गरलकालिमाऽलिकतलेऽनिलोऽलङ्कृतिः ।

अं(ओ)जसाऽसम्पृक्तः प्रसादः **पाञ्चाल्यां** गुणः ॥
अं(ओ)जसा मिलितः प्रसादो यथा महाकवेः

अथ स विषयव्यावृत्तात्मा यथाविधि सूनवे
नृपतिककुदं दत्त्वा यूने सितातपवारणम् ।
मुनिवनतरुच्छायां देव्या तया सह शिश्रिये[2]
गलितवयसामिक्ष्वाकूणामिदं हि कुलव्रतम् ॥ ४ ॥

[र. वं. स. ३. श्लो. ७०]

यथा वा

मुधा मा गाः क्रोधं प्रथममपराधं कथय मे
न सम्य[3]ग्ज्ञानं चेत्पिशुनवचसा सीदसि कथम् ।
इति स्वैरं पत्यौ वदति सुदती संशयपरा[4]
मनाङ्मुक्तामर्षा रमणमुखशोभां व्यवृणुत ॥ ५ ॥

बन्धस्याविषमत्वं यत्**समता** सा मता सताम् ॥ ६ ॥

यथा **महाकवेः**

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः ।
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥ ७ ॥

[कु. सं. स. १. श्लो. १]

यथा वा

असावतिप्रसन्नोऽपि नूनं चन्द्रस्तवाननम् ।
समानतां सरोजस्य नेतुं तन्वि समीहते ॥ ८ ॥

१ A. ०संस्कृतो corrected Sec. m. B. ०सङ्कृतो.

२ A. सिश्रिये corr. sec. m. B. सिश्रिये.

३ A. क् ज्ञानं to मना (in last line of the verse) Sec. m. marg.

४ B. ०मना.

विपर्ययस्तु

मुञ्च मानमनुमानकल्पितादागसो मनसि सम्भृतं त्वया[१] ।
किं मनाग्वलितलोचनाञ्चलप्रोन्मिलज्जललवं विलोक्यते ॥ ९ ॥

अत्र पूर्वाऽपरार्धयोर्भिन्नरूपत्वात्**समताभङ्गः** ॥

बन्धस्य मसृणत्वं यत्स **श्लेषो** येन दृश्यते ।
नूनं पदेषु सम्पृक्तिर्भिन्नेष्वप्येकवृत्तिवत् ॥ १० ॥

यथा **महाकवेः**

मनीषिताः सन्ति गृहेऽपि देवतास्तपः क्व वत्से क्व च तावकं वपुः ।
पदं सहेत भ्रमरस्य पेशलं शिरीषपुष्पं न पुनः पतत्त्रिणः ॥ ११ ॥
[कु. सं. स. ५ श्लो. ४]

यथा वा

पितुस्तव द्वारि नदन्ति दन्ति[२]नस्त्वदन्तिके तन्वि पदं दधाति कः ।
कियत्परामृश्य चिरं विभावये नयेन लभ्यो न हि ते मनोरथः ॥ १२ ॥

विपर्ययस्तु

गता त्वहं साऽब्जविलोचनाऽश्रुतिं श्रुता जनैः शोभिगुणोत्करा मम ।
बन्धस्य विकटत्वं यत्त**दौदार्यं** प्रचक्ष्यते ।
सति यस्मिन्विभाव्येत नृत्यन्तीव पदावली ॥ १३ ॥

यथा

स्फुरन्मुखर[३]मेखलं परिचलन्नितम्बस्थलं
पयोधरभरानमत्त्रिवलिसम्मिलद्विभ्रमम् ।
लुलच्छिथिलकुन्तलं वलितचारुनेत्रान्तरं
दरस्तबकितस्मितं किमपि रूपमुज्जृम्भते ॥ १४ ॥

बन्धे सम्यक्क्रमः कश्चिद्य आरोहावरोहयोः ।
स **समाधिः** स्मृतस्तेन वैचित्र्यं[४] याति भारती ॥ १५ ॥

यथा

१ B. तया.

२ B. omits दन्ति.

३ A. र above the line. sec. m.

४ A. वैचित्र्यं.

कुतश्चित्साकूतं क्वचन सरलं[1] क्वापि कुटिलं
क्वचित्प्रेमाविष्टं क्वचन गुणबन्धैकनिपुणम् ।
क्वचिन्मुग्धं चेतस्तव[2] चतुर तथ्यं वद पुन:
कया वृत्त्याऽस्माभिर्नियतमनुसन्धेयमधुना ॥ १६

पूर्वाऽपरपदान्त्याद्यवर्णयोर्यत्र मित्रता ।
तन्माधुर्यं मृदुव्यक्तविभिन्नपदताऽथवा ॥ १७ ॥

अत्राद्यं यथा

अयं शशी जनानन्दं दधाति न मम प्रियम् ।
तनोति दूति सन्तापमलसं ते विचेष्टितम् ॥ १८ ॥

'अयं शशी 'त्यत्र यकारशकारयो' रिचु[3]यशानां तालव्' त्येकस्थानमैत्री । तथा 'शशी जनानन्दं [न्द 'मित्यत्र] ज(श)कारश(ज)कारयो: । 'जनानन्दं दधाती 'ति दकारयो:[4] । एवं **प्रतिपदमक्षरमैत्री माधुर्यम्** ॥

द्वितीयं यथा

सुधा निषिञ्चन्निव लोचनेषु स्वभावशोभामधिकां[5] दधान: ।
स राजरत्नं नरदेवचन्द्रो[6] राजश्रिया सातिशयं विरेजे ॥ १९ ॥

बन्धस्याजर(र्जव)त्वं [7]**तत्सौकुमार्यमु**दाहृतम् ॥ २० ॥

यथा

कम्पाकुलं पुलकिता नवकन्दलीभि-
रालिङ्गिता नवलता मलयानिलेन ।
लीलायितं किमपि लोचनलोभनीय-
मालम्बते किशलयाङ्गुलिचालनाभिः ॥ २१ ॥

पदेषूच्चार्यमाणेषु श्रोतुर्धावति मानसम् ।
पुरोवर्तिनि[8] यत्रार्थे **साऽर्थव्यक्ति**रिति स्मृता ॥ २२ ॥

१ B. शरलं,
२ B. चेतः स्तव–
३ A. थुंचु– corr. sce. m. marg. B. युंचु–
४ A. तनोतीति दकारतयोः corr. sec, marg as above. B. तनोतीति दकारत-कारयो :
५ B. ०शोमधिकां (sic).
६ A. सरवचन्द्रो. corr. Sce. m. B. सरदेव–
७ B. omits त.
८ B. वत्तिनि.

यथा **महाकवे**'रस्त्युत्तरस्यामि'त्यादि ॥

यथा वा

एष कंसो यदा राज्यं प्राप्तवान्पापतत्परः ।
तदाप्रभृति लोकानां सुखमत्यन्तदुर्लभम् ॥ २३ ॥

बन्धे देदीप्यमानत्वं **कान्ति**रित्यभिधीयते ।
पुराणचित्रशं(सं)काशा काव्यच्छाया यया विना ॥ २४ ॥

यथा

उदञ्चत्प्रेमश्रीः सरसतनुलावण्यलहरी-
समुद्भिन्नस्वच्छाम्बरविवृतगौरद्युतिभरा ।
मुहुः प्रत्यङ्गेषु भ्रमितमिव चक्षुर्विदधती
नताङ्गी मुग्धेयं झटिति मम चेतः प्रविशति ॥ २५ ॥

यथा वा'ऽस्त्युत्तरस्यामि'त्यादि ॥ छ ॥

इति श्रीमालकुल-श्रीमालभार-मालवमण्डुलालङ्कार-जीवनेन्द्र-नन्दन-मफरलमलिक-**श्रीपुञ्जराज**विरचिते **शिशुप्रबोधे काव्यालङ्कारे शब्दगुणाऽध्यायः पञ्चमः** ॥ ५ ॥ ॥ छ

[अथ षष्ठोऽध्यायः]

एत[१] एव गुणाः प्रोक्ता काव्यज्ञैरर्थवृत्तयः ।
तदुदाहरणव्यक्तिं करिष्येऽथ सलक्षणाम् ॥ १ ॥

साभिप्रायतया व्याससमासाभ्यां च दृश्यते ।
यत्रार्थस्य भृशं प्रौढिस्तदोजः परिकीर्तितम् ॥ २ ॥

तत्र **साभिप्रायतयार्थप्रौढिर्यथा महाकवेः** ।

गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुत[२]पारदृश्वा रघोः सकासा(शा)दनवाप्य कामम् ।
गतो वदान्यान्तरमित्ययं मे मा भूत्परीवादनवावतारः ॥ ३ ॥

(र. वं. स. ५ श्लो. २४)

---

१ B. एव.

२ A. श्रु corr. sec. m. B. श्रुत-

अथवा

अपि तुरगसमीपादुत्पतन्तं मयूरं
न स रुचिरकलापं बाणलक्षी(क्ष्यी)चकार ।
सपदि गतमनस्कश्चित्रमाल्यानुकीर्णे
रतिविगलितबन्धे केशपाशे प्रियायाः ॥ ४ ॥
(र. वं. स. ९ श्लो. ६७)

यथा वा

मनोऽभिरामेण कलाविवेकिना
रतिप्रगल्भेन सुखाभिलाखि(षि)णा ।
वरेण यूना गुणपक्षपातिना
पतिंवरे संसृज सम्भृतश्रिया ॥ ५ ॥

अत्र पतिंवराभिलाषपोषकार्थतया विशेषणानां **साभिप्रायता** ॥

अभिहितप्रातिकूल्यद्योतनद्वारेण **साभिप्रायत्वमर्थस्य प्रौढिरेव** ।

यथा **महाकवेः**

अस्याङ्कलक्ष्मीर्भव दीर्घबाहोर्माहिष्मतीवप्रनितम्बकाञ्चीम् ।
प्रासादजालैर्जलवेणिरम्यां रेवां यदि प्रेक्षितुमस्ति कामः ॥ ६ ॥
[र. वं. स. ६ श्लो. ४३]

अत्र नवपरिणीताया रेवावलोकनेन सम[1]यपरिकलनमनङ्गक्रीडाशून्यताया हेतुरतोऽ-'स्याङ्कलक्ष्मीर्भवे'त्यभिहितस्य प्रातिकूल्यद्वारेण **साभिप्रायता** ॥

अर्थस्य **व्यासो** यथा

कुठारहतिभिः पुरा क्षितितले समुल्लुण्ठित-
स्ततश्च करपत्रके(कैः) शकलतां मुहुः प्रापितः ।
शिलासु परिघर्षणैस्तदनु सान्द्रपङ्कीकृत-
स्ततोऽनिलविशोषितो व्रजति चूर्णतां चन्दनः ॥ ७ ॥

अर्थस्य **समासो** यथा **महाकवेः**

ते हिमालयमामन्त्र्य पुनः प्रेक्ष्य च शूलिनम् ।
सिद्धं चास्मै निवेद्यार्थं तद्विसृष्टाः खमुद्ययुः ॥ ८ ॥
[कु. सं. स. ६ श्लो. ९४]

पदार्थे वाक्यरचनं वाक्यार्थे च पदरचनं **व्याससमासयोरेव भेदौ** ॥

१ A. म. supra. lin. sec.

यथा **महाकवेः**

अथ नयनसमुत्थं ज्योतिरत्रेरिव द्यौः

[र. वं. स. २ श्लो. ७५ प्रथमपाद]

अत्रेर्नयनसमुत्थं ज्योतिरिति पदसन्दर्भरूपं वाक्यं प्रयुक्तम् ॥

यथा 'विनापराधं विदधाति कोपमि'ति वाक्ये प्रयोक्तव्येऽनिमित्तकोपेति प्रयुक्तम् ॥

यथा च 'इयं[1] देवी न भवति, किन्तु मानुषी' एतावति वाक्ये प्रयोक्तव्ये निमिषतीति पदम् ॥

एवमन्यदूह्यम् ॥

यत्प्रयोजनमात्रैकपरिग्रहवशा[2]द्भवेत् ।
अर्थे किमपि नैर्मल्यं स **प्रसाद** इतीरितः ॥ ९ ॥

यथा **महाकवेः**

आस्वादवद्भिः कवलैस्तृणानां कण्डूयनैर्दंशनिवारणैश्च ।
अव्याहतस्वैरगतैश्च तस्याः सम्राट् समाराधनतत्परोऽभूत् ॥ १० ॥

[र. वं. स. २ श्लो. ५.]

यथा वा

सम्पदि विपदि च तुल्यं कुलीनमनुकूलमौचितीचतुरम् ।
रतिसुन्दरं पवित्रं यस्य कलत्रं स एव गृही ॥ ११ ॥

अत्र प्रयोजनमात्रपरिगृहीतपदतयाऽर्थस्य नैर्मल्यम् ॥

विपर्ययस्तु

सेवतां मम करो मणिस्फुरन्मेखलागुणपदं निरन्तरम् ।

अत्र मेखला[3]गुणपदं नितम्बः । तत्र मणिस्फुरत्पदयोर्दण्डापूपन्यायपरिग्रहादर्थस्य नैर्मल्याऽभावः ॥

अवैषम्यं यदर्थस्य सा मता **समता**[4] सताम् ।

यथा **महाकवेः**

प्रियाऽनुरागस्य मनःसमुन्नतेर्भुजार्जि[5]तानां च दिगन्तसम्पदाम् ।
यथाक्रमं पुंसवनादिकाः क्रिया धृतेश्च धीरः सदृशीर्व्यधत्त सः ॥ १२ ॥

[र. वं. स. ३ श्लो. १०]

---

१ B. अयं
२ B. विशा–
३ B. मेषला–
४ A. समता. marg sec. m.
५ A. –तेर्भुजार्जि– marg sec. m.

विपर्ययस्तु

उदेति दशि वक्रता वलति सम्प्रति भ्रूलता
लसत्यलसता गतौ सरलतां[1]वचो मुञ्चति ।
अलङ्कृतिषु कौतुकं भजति बालिकाया मनः
कृशीभवति मध्यमं जघनमुन्नतिं विन्दति ॥ १३ ॥

अत्र यौवनारम्भदशा[2]प्रस्तावरूपस्यार्थस्या'लङ्कृतिषु कौतुकं मनो भजती'ति श्लोक-तृतीयचरणप्रतिपादितोऽर्थः सर्वसाधारणतया प्रस्तुतेन विशिष्टार्थे[3]न साम्याऽभावमुत्पादयति । तदर्थं 'वधूवरकथोत्सवे[4]सजति बालिकाया मनः' इति तृतीयचरणे पठितेऽर्थसमता भवति ॥

काचिदर्थस्य घटना श्लेष इत्यभिधीयते ॥

यथा

न हि तव वचोभित्तिं भेत्तुं क्षमं[5] कठिनामिमां
किमनुनयसि स्वैरं साधो व्रजाऽस्तु शिवं तव ।
इति निगदिते दूत्या कान्तेऽपगच्छति[6] भीतया
कलहमखिलं न्यस्यैतस्यां प्रियः परिमोदितः ॥ १४ ॥

अत्र विघटितस्यानुनयरूपस्यार्थस्य पुनर्घटनं श्लेषः ॥

अग्राम्यत्वं यदर्थस्य तदौदार्यमुदाहृतम् ॥ १५ ॥

यथा

सानन्दं शनकैः प्रविश्य निलयं संविश्य तल्पोपरि
प्रेमोत्कण्ठितमानसा सरभसं पर्यस्य दोर्वल्लरीम् ।
निद्राव्याजमुपागतं प्रियतमं ताम्बूलदानच्छला-
दुद्य[7]न्मन्मथभावभीतिवचनैरा[8]बोधयत्प्रेयसी ॥ १६ ॥

विपर्ययस्तु दोषनिरूपणाध्याये द्रष्टव्यः ॥

१ B. शरलतां.
२ B. -दशा-
३ A. विशिष्टार्थे- marg. sec. m.
४ A. स uncrossed. भ sup. lin. sec. m.
५ A. क्षमां corr. sec. m क्षमं. B. क्षमां.
६ B. कान्तप० (sic).
७ A. द्य marg. sec. m.
८ A. -शनकै- corr. sec. m. marg. B. -वृचनरा० (sic).

अन्यधर्मस्ततोऽन्यत्र सम्यगाधीयते हि यत् ।
तस्मात्**समाधि**रित्युक्तो गुणोऽर्थस्य विचक्षणैः ॥
तस्याऽनेकविधा भेदा दिङ्मात्रं तु प्रकाश्यते ॥ १७ ॥

तत्राऽचेतने सचेतनधर्मारोप**समाधि**र्यथा

चक्षुर्मदालसमुपासितवक्रभावं
भ्रूवल्लरी कलितनृत्यविलासलीला ।
उन्निद्रपद्मवदने मुदमातनोति
मन्दस्मितं च दशनद्युतिमांसलं ते ॥ १८ ॥

अरूपे रूपसमाधानात्**समाधि**र्यथा

दिगङ्गा(ङ्ग)नासु वशिता(च सितं) यशो यैरवतंसितम् ।
तेषामपि विलासैस्ते मनो मोहे निमज्जति ॥ १९ ॥

अरसे रसारोपात्समाधिर्यथा

तन्वङ्गि कान्तयोगे[1] रुचिरिन्दोर्या तवाऽभवन्मधुरा ।
सा पुनरद्य वियोगे हन्त मुहुः क्षारतां याति ॥ २० ॥

अद्रवे[2] द्रवतारोप**समाधि**र्यथा **महाकवेः**

वशिष्ठ(सिष्ठ)धेनोरनुयायिनं तमावर्तमानं वनिता वनान्तात् ।
पपौ निमेषालसपक्ष्मपङ्क्तिरुपोषिताभ्यामिव लोचनाभ्याम् ॥ २१ ॥

[र. वं. स. २ श्लो. १९.]

अघने घनत्वा[3]रोप**समाधि**र्यथा

सूचिभेद्यैस्तमोभिः ।

अकर्तरि कर्तृत्वारोप**समाधि**र्यथा

इदं मम धिया कार्यं प्रागेव हि विलोकितम् ।
किन्तु मे लज्जते ष(ख)ड्गः शत्रून्निघ्नन्संवृत्ता(ता)न् ॥ २२ ॥

यत्किञ्चिदुक्तिवैचित्र्यं[4] तन्**माधुर्य**मुदाहृतम् ॥ २३ ॥

१ A. कागे corr. sec. m. marg.
२ B. अत्रवे (sic).
३ A. अधनत्वा० corr. sec. m. marg.
४ A. ०किञ्चित्र्यं corr. sec. m. marg.

यथा

मुधा न गदितं भदे(वेद्) भवति तत्सुधास्वादनं
विमुक्तिरपि निश्चलोल्लसितसम्मदा[१] नान्यथा ।
वदन्तु सनकादिकाः पुनरिदं रसज्ञा हरे
यदस्ति तव सेवनोत्सवरसेन किञ्चित्समम् ॥ २४ ॥

यथा वा **महाकवेः**

न संयतस्तस्य बभूव रक्षितुर्विसर्जयेद्यं सुतजन्महर्षितः[२] ।
ऋणाभिधानात्स्वयमेव केवलं तदा पितॄणां मुमुचे स बन्धनात् ॥ २५ ॥
[र. वं. स. ३ श्लो. २०.]

अर्थस्यापरुषत्वं यत्**सौकुमार्य**मुदाहृतम् ॥ २६ ॥

यथा **महाकवेः**

बाष्पायमानो(णो) बलि[३]मन्निकेतमालेख्य(ल्य) शेषस्य[४] पुनर्विवेश ।
[र. वं. स. १४. श्लो. १५ उत्तरार्ध.]

अत्र स्वर्गतस्येति प्रयोक्तव्य आलेख्य[५]शेषस्येति प्रयोगादर्थस्यापरुषत्वम् ।

यथा वा

तात यशोऽवशेषे जयशाभामाप्तवान्कुमारोऽपि ।
साधयति **वीरसेनः** संयति परमण्डलं जेतुम् ॥ २७ ॥

अत्र गच्छतीत्यर्थे साधयतीति प्रयोगः **सौकुमार्य**मुद्वहति ।

यथा वा

मदनमलिकनेत्रस्फारकीलानिपीतं
सपदि मनसिजत्वं लम्भयित्वेन्दुमौलिः ।
रतिपरिभवकोपानौचिती(तीं) योऽपनेतुं
वहति वपुषि नित्यं वल्लभां वः स पायात् ॥ २८ ॥

१ A. ल्लसिमदा corr. sec. m. marg.
२ A. लाहर्षितः corr. sec. m. B. लाहर्षिलितिः (sic).
३ A. कलि० corr. sec. m.
४ A. ०लोष्या० changed to ०लेख्य० sec. m. B. ०सेसस्य.
५ A. –लोख्य० corr. sec. m.

वस्तुस्वभावस्फुट[१]ताऽर्थव्यक्तिरिति कीर्तिता ।
तां जातिं मन्वते केचिद् ब्रुवते[२] चात्र लक्षणम् ॥ २९ ॥

यस्यां यादृगवस्थायां स्याद्रूपं यस्य वस्तुनः ।
तत्तथैवार्पयत्युक्तिरग्राम्या जातिरिष्यते ॥ ३० ॥ इति ॥

यथा

स दक्षिणापाङ्गनिविष्टमुष्टिं नतांसमाकुञ्चितसव्यपादम् ।
ददर्श चक्रीकृतचारुचापं प्रहर्तुमभ्युद्यतमात्मयोनिम् ॥ ३१ ॥

[कु. सं. स. ३ श्लो. ७०]

यथा वा

आकुञ्चच्चिबुकाऽवसक्तवसनप्रान्तेन वक्षोरुहौ
सञ्छाद्य त्वरया मुहुर्विदधती नीवीं क्वणत्कङ्कणा ।
उन्मीलत्कनकप्रकाशजघनव्यालोलदृष्टिर्वल-
च्छ्रोणीवेष्टनकम्पितोरुरबला मच्चित्तमालम्बते ॥ ३२ ॥

यथा वा

जृम्भोद्भासितविभ्रमालसदृशा साकूतनृत्यद्भ्रुवा
सोच्छ्वासत्रिकभङ्गभङ्गुरवलीविश्रं(स्रं)सिनीविश्रिया ।
धमि(म्मि)ल्लावृतिकैतवोर्ध्वभुजयोदञ्चत्कुचाभोगया
तस्थे दृष्टिपथे हरेरपरया किञ्चिद्वलत्कण्ठया ॥ ३३ ॥

यथा वा

कण्ठे गद्गदवाङ् न यच्छति गिरं व्रीडावलल्लोचना
प्रेम्णाऽऽलोकनलोलुपा नमयति स्विद्यत्कपोलं मुखम् ।
जातालिङ्गनकौतुका करतलस्पर्शेऽपि कम्पाकुला-
न्यङ्गानि स्थगयत्युदग्रपुलकं(का)[३] नव्योपयामा वधूः ॥ ३४ ॥

उद्रिक्तभावता कान्तिरुच्यते काव्यकोविदैः ॥ ३५ ॥

यथा

१ A. वस्फुट° corr. sec. m. by adding स्तुस्वभाव

२ A. °द्रुवते corr. sec. m. B. °द्रुवते.

३ B. °पुलक.

पुलकिततनुयष्टिर्वेपमाना नताङ्गी
तरलितनयनश्रीर्लक्ष्यमाणाऽपि वृन्ते ।
विरचयति वयस्याहास्यमन्तर्विमोहा-
न्निजकररुहकान्तिं चिन्वती पल्लवेषु ॥ ३६ ॥

अत्र कुसुमवाटिकायां पुष्पावचयं विचरन्त्या (विरचयन्त्या) **मधुञ्जमर्याश्चन्द्रकेतो-**रवलोकनेनोद्रिक्तभावता **कान्ति**रिति ॥

रीतिः संवृति(त्ति)रौचित्यमिति केचिद्गुणत्रयम् ।
आहुर्ये **सौकुमार्यार्थव्यक्तिकान्ति**षु निर्ममाः ॥ ३७ ॥
कोऽपि बन्धविशेषात्मा गुणो **रीति**रियं पुनः ।
वैदर्भगौडपाञ्चालमार्गभेदात्त्रिधा मता ॥
समस्तगुणसंपन्ना **वैदर्भी**ति निगद्यते ॥ ३८ ॥

यथा **महाकवेः**

गाहन्तां महिषा निपानसलिलं शृङ्गैर्मुहुस्ताडितं
छायाबद्धकदम्बकं मृगकुलं रोमन्थमभ्यस्यतु ।
विश्रब्धैः क्रियतां वराहपतिभिर्मुस्ताक्षतिः पल्वले
विश्रान्तिं लभतामिदं च शिथिलज्याबन्धमस्मद्धनुः ॥ ३९ ॥

[अ. शा. अं. २. श्लो. ६]

यथा वा

प्रेम्णा लोलविलोचने रतिरसाच्चेलाञ्चलं कर्षति[1]
प्राणेशे चकितेव विभ्रमवती साचिभ्रमल्लोचना ।
व्रीडोद्वेगमवाप्य कातरतया तद्वक्षसैव स्वयं
विश्रं(स्रं)सद्वसनाञ्चलं कुचयुगं कान्ता पिधत्तेतराम् ॥ ४० ॥

ओजःकान्तिमती **रीतिर्गौडीये**ति निगद्यते ।
सेयं माधुर्यनिर्मुक्तोल्बणाक्षरविजृम्भिता ॥ ४१ ॥

यथा

रक्षोयक्षोरगाः के भवतु रणभुवि व्यूढतत्पक्षपातः
क्षिप्रं मच्छस्त्रघातक्षपितभुजव(ब)लप्रोत्सवो वासवोऽपि

1 A. ०चेलांकर्षति corr. sec. m. marg. B. ०चेलां मुंचति.

दंष्ट्रामुत्पाट्य दर्पात्प्रलयचटुलितत्र्यम्बकक्रोधचण्ड-
स्तुण्डाद्वैवस्वतस्याप्यहमिह झटिति प्रेयसीमुद्धरामि ॥ ४२ ॥

माधुर्यसम्प्लुतपदा पुराणच्छायया ऽन्विता ।
बन्धशैथिल्य[1]कलिता **पाञ्चाली**ति निगद्यते ॥ ४३ ॥

यथा

निजान्पतीन्किं वनिता गृहे गृहे
स्वयं समालिङ्ग्य विनोदयन्ति नो ।
विना रुषा चेतसि मे स्थिता कथं
ममेप्सितं पूरयितुं विकम्पसे ॥ ४४ ॥

असमासा तथा **दीर्घसमासा ऽल्पसमासिका** ।
इति **रीति**त्रयस्यान्ये ब्रुवते लक्षणं क्रमात् ॥ ४५ ॥

क्रमेणोदाहरणानि

असमासा यथा]

न हि तव वचोभिर्भित्तिं भेत्तुं क्षमं कठिनामिमां
किमनुनयसि स्वैरं साधो व्रजा ऽस्तु शिवं तव ।
इति निगदिते दूत्या कान्ते ऽपगच्छति भीतया
कलहमखिलं न्यस्यैतस्यां प्रियः परिमोदितः ॥ ४६ ॥

[दीर्घसमासा यथा]

बाहुव्यालोलनागा ऽजिनपवनसमुद्भूतदिक्कुम्भिकुम्भ-
स्फूर्जत्सिन्दूरसन्ध्योदयदमरधुनीसीकरस्फारतारम् ।
नृत्यं तत्पातु शम्भोश्चरणविमृदितक्षोणिभारप्रयास-
व्यग्रव्यालेन्द्रशीर्षप्रणतभयसमुद्भ्रान्तदैतेयवर्गम् ॥ ४७ ॥

[अल्पसमासा यथा]

स्तनद्वयोत्पीडनपूर्वरंहसा घनानुरागोत्पुलकेन वक्षसा ।
मिलद्विनोदे कुसुमेषुसङ्गरे प्रियापरीरम्भसुखानि निर्विश ॥ ४८ ॥

अथार्थस्य रीतिः ।

भङ्ग्या कयाचिदर्थस्य रचना रसकौशलात् ।
कविना विहिता ऽस्यास्तु निर्वाहो रीतिरुच्यते ॥ ४९ ॥

1 B. –सैथिल्य–

यथा।

त्रिजगति भगवन्नामेव कारुण्यलक्ष्मी-
जयति मयि च काचिच्छोचनीत्वसम्पत् ।
उभयतरतमत्वं दैन्यविच्छेदशालि
यदि नयनपथं ते यामि जाने तदानीम् ॥ ९० ॥

यथा वा **महाकवेः**

चतुर्वर्गफलं ज्ञानं कालावस्थाश्चतुर्युगाः ।
चतुर्वर्णमयो लोकस्त्वत्तः सर्वं चतुर्मुखात् ॥ ९१ ॥

[र. वं. स. १० श्लो. २२]

यथा वा

दूरागत इति विद्वानिति विप्र इति प्रभो कुटुम्बीति ।
क्षीणोपाय इति त्वत्संश्रय इति तेऽनुकम्प्योऽस्मि ॥ ४४-(९२) ॥

यथा वा

पूजयति देव यस्त्वां स भवति पूज्यः स्तवीति स स्तुत्यः ।
यो वन्दते स वन्द्यो ध्यायति योऽसौ मृगीदृशां ध्येयः ॥ ४५-(९३) ॥

विपर्ययस्तु दोषनिरूपणे द्रष्टव्यः ॥

अनिर्वाच्य इवोत्कृष्टो यस्यामर्थः प्रतीयते ।
यत्तत्किमादिभिर्वाच्या **संवृत्तिः**[1] सा निगद्यते ॥ ९४ ॥

यथा

ते केचन दृशि भावाः स च कश्चिद्विभ्रमो वपुषि ।
वचनेषु तेषु तन्व्याः काचन सा माधुरी जयति ॥ ९५ ॥

यथा वा

रूपं किमप्यनुपमं मधुरं च किञ्चि-
ल्लावण्यमेतदथ काचन यौवनश्रीः ।
वेषश्च कश्चिदथ काचन भावशोभा
कोऽप्युत्सवः परमकोटिमुपैति तन्व्याः ॥ ९६ ॥

अर्थौचित्यम् ।

लोकप्रसिद्धमौचित्यं तदवस्थादिभेदतः ।
जायते बहुधा तत्तु दिङ्मात्रेण प्रकाश्यते ॥ ९७ ॥

१ B. संवृतिः

शब्दौचित्यं यथा

नितम्बिनि विलम्बसे कथमिवोत्सवालोकने

यथा वा

संवृत्ते संवर्ते धरणीं धर्तुं भवाञ्शेषः ।

यथा वा

दहतु दुरितमग्निर्वो(र्बा)णजन्मा पुरारेः

अत्र दहत्विति पदमुचितम् ।

यथा

'तत्तद्भूमिपतिः पत्न्यै दर्शयन्प्रियदर्शनः ।'

[र. वं. स. १. श्लो. ४७ पूर्वार्ध.]

अत्र प्रियदर्शन इत्युचितं पदम् ।

'व्रताय तेनानुचरेण धेनोः'

[र. वं. स. श्लो. ४ प्रथमपाद.]

अत्राऽनुचरेणेत्युचितम् ॥

एवमालि निगृहीतसाध्वसं शङ्करो रहसि सेव्यतामिति ।

शङ्कर इत्युचितम् । इत्यादि **स्वयमूह्यम्** ॥

अर्थौचित्यं यथा

स्तुवन्ति त्वां नार्यो गुणवति यथा तत्समधिको
विलासस्ते[1] किन्तु प्रतिवचनमूकत्वमगुणः ।
वदत्येवं पत्यौ[2] स्फुरदधरशोभाञ्चितमुखी
सखीं लज्जानम्रा वलितनयनाऽलोकत वधूः ॥ ९८ ॥

यथा वा

भर्तुर्भक्तिरता भवेत्यभिहितां नारीभिरालोकित-
प्रेयोमन्तुमयीं व्यथां कथयितुं[3] नैव क्षमां व्रीडया ।
बालां प्राप्तवतीं कथञ्चन रहो निःश्वस्य बाष्पं दृशो-
स्तन्वानां दयितो निधाय पदयोर्मूर्धानमानन्दयत् ॥ ९९ ॥

यथा वा **महाकवेः**

---

१ A. विलासस्त (sic.)

२ B. *त्यौ.

३ B. कथ *तुं

JOURNAL
OF THE
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Editor: **B. J. Sandesara**

The JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA is a Quarterly published in every September, December, March and June.

SPECIAL FEATURES:

Articles on Indology, textual and cultural problems of the Rāmāyaṇa, Epic & Purāṇic studies, Notices of manuscripts, Reviews of books, Survey of contemporary Oriental Journals and the publication of rare works forming the Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series are some of the features of the Journal.

CONTRIBUTORS TO NOTE:

(1) Only typewritten contributions will be accepted. Copies should be retained by the authors for any future reference, as no manuscripts will be returned.

(2) *To maintain uniformity in transliteration in all the papers published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, it is essential that all contributions should follow the standard system of transliteration* (*c* = च, ch-छ्, s'-श्, ṣ-ष्, etc.).

(3) All contributions to the Journal should be sent to the *Director, Oriental Institute, P.B. No. 75, Baroda.*

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

	Annual
Inland	Rs. 15/- (Post-free)
Europe	25*s*. (or equivalent)
U.S.A.	$3.50c.

Subscription is always payable in advance. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year. Subscriptions to the Journal may be sent to—

The Director, Oriental Institute, P. B. No. 75, Baroda.

Printed by Ramanlal J. Patel, Manager, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda, and published on behalf of M. S. University of Baroda by Prof. B. J. Sandesara, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
June 1963